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Committee For Constitutional Government

Incorporated Under the Laws of the District of Columbia

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CONSTITUTION DAY - SEPTEMBER 17

FEATURE MATERIAL RELEASED for your timely use in whole or in part. Tear-sheet will be appreciated.

Dear Mr. Editor:

May we ask your consideration of the timeliness of the article by Dr. Peale, possibly for the Sunday preceding Constitution Day or for a week-day when your space will permit? It is keyed to the anniversary of the convention's adoption of the final draft of the Constitution on September 17, 1787; also it furnishes thought for parents, teachers and students on the opening of the school year.

We enclose leaflet reprints of Daniel Webster's oft quoted eulogy of the Constitution which many other editors have used as a box. May we suggest your consideration of this for reprint on September 17th?

Also, a letter to the editor by T. J. Norton, nationally known student of our Constitution, addressed through your columns to high school students. You may like it on your editorial page for use during September, the month of Constitution Day, and of school opening.

For your personal information - not for publication - also copy of letter by T. J. Norton to Mr. Roane Waring, Commander of the American Legion.

COMMITTEE FOR CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT, INC.

P.S.
Note for your Radio Department. Broadcast over Mutual network by former Congressman Samuel B. Pettengill "The Constitution and our Freedoms", September 15, 9:15 to 9:30 P.M., E.S.T.

TO UPHOLD FREE ENTERPRISE AND THE RIGHTS OF FREE MEN

principles of constitutional liberty. While the story of discovery, settlement, colonization, Revolution, Union, and the rise of the United States is inspiring, it contains no defensive matter - no learning for use by the voting masses against the alien theories and promises which have been carrying them astray.

To Edmund Burke, ablest of many friends of the American colonists in the House of Commons, the striking characteristic of the founders of this Republic was that they reached their conclusion by the use of principles. They reasoned from known premises

61-755

DO YOU KNOW WHAT BOLSHEVISM REALLY IS?

by S. B. PETTENGILL

Author of "Jefferson the Forgotten Man," "Smoke Screen," and "For Americans Only," whose syndicated column, "Inside Your Congress," appears in 60 newspapers.

IN RUSSIA no one can own a foot of land, no one can hire another to run even a cobbler's shop, a cigar store or filling station.

In Russia there is only one employer. The State. You work for it—or starve. You can't change your job or residence unless it permits you. You take the job it gives you—and like it.

In Russia there is only one political party. None other is tolerated. Those who vote are handed a ticket with the names of the candidates. There is no choice. The system calls itself a "democracy" but denies the very basis of democracy which is "government by the consent of the governed."

In Russia the theatres are owned by the State. No play can be acted, no motion picture shown, which is not approved by the State.

In Russia the radio is owned by the State. You hear only what the State lets you hear.

In Russia the newspapers are owned by the State—also the editors. You read only what the State lets you read.

In Russia your only security is to grovel before your superiors and be quick about it. If the State suspects dissatisfaction, the suspects disappear.

In Russia millions of Russians—political prisoners (not military), are in forced labor camps—right now. They are the suspects.

In Russia the State, as Stalin says, is "The domination of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, untrammeled by law and based on violence."

In Russia agriculture is a gigantic system of State landlordism. Farming is a form of feudalism. The peasant may have a small garden, a pig, a few chickens—if he is good. But he works on the State-owned farm, like a serf during the Middle Ages.

In Russia there is no collective bargaining—no independent labor unions—nothing but plant unions as a means of competing with other plants in volume of production. Workers are paid on a piecework basis.

In Russia no group may meet, no man may speak, no one may hear any subject discussed which is not

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#3

Raising the Workingman's Scale o

A Revealing Study

By Dr. Willford I. King
Professor of Economics, New York University

★ ★ ★

INTRODUCTION

By Samuel B. Pettengill

What has made the American clock tick? This article gives the answer. It is easy to read. The chart on this page can be grasped by a school child. It shows who the *real* friend of the workingman is—it is the man who furnished ever newer and better tools, research, invention, and engineering.

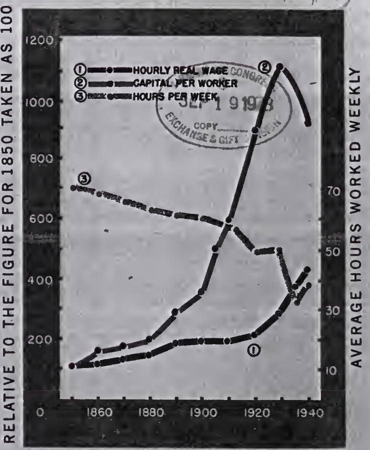
Take time to read this article. It is written by an *honest* man. It is the work of a highly skilled mind that has devoted itself for a lifetime to the study of the wealth and income of the people of the United States.

In brief compass, it shows how we can have jobs, a rising scale of living—and remain free men. It shows that a busybody government is the worst enemy of the working man. It taxes away—and largely wastes—the money that should go into new and better tools.

Here are a few of Dr. King's assembled facts which should deeply concern every American:

In 90 years—1849 to 1939—the investment in tools per factory worker increased nine times, from $557 to $5,080. But in 1939 it was $1,072 *less* per worker than in 1929.

These better tools so raised output per worker that...



Never before in history was there such a thrilling story as that told by the above red and black lines. During ninety years, American investors supplied each worker with nine times more capital for tools and equipment. Their increased investment per worker raised the worker's production—the buying power of his hourly wages—four fold and almost cut in half his working hours.

...working hours were cut almost in half, yet...

...the buying power of hourly wages increased four times...

...resulting in the greatest rise in the scale of living the world has ever known. (This took place *after* Karl Marx said private capitalism had failed and must be replaced by State Capitalism—dictatorship.)

So much for the past.

How can the scale of living of workingmen be raised from here on?

By continuing to expand output per worker...

...which requires still better tools and more highly skilled men...

...which calls for new capital...

...which requires men who save...

But men *can* and *will* save only if the government does not tax their savings away, and does not prevent them from earning a fair return.

Dr. King's studies prove that after taxes, raw materials and other expenses of production are paid for, the worker gets a nearly constant share out of every dollar of output.

From this mathematically demonstrated fact, it is clear that the only way for labor to get increasing *real* wages is to cooperate with capital and management for increased production.

The great gains of the past came—as they must in the future—from producing bigger and bigger pies with larger slices for all to share.

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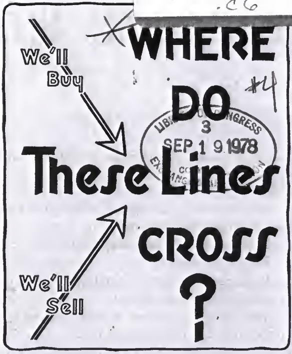

FREE PRICES and FULL EMPLOYMENT

A COMMON SENSE ANALYSIS
OF A VITAL PROBLEM
IN 950 WORDS

THE SATURDAY EVENING
POST
AUGUST 19, 1950

WE BARRYMORES!
A Famous Family's
...ory
...RYMORE

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EDITORIALS

We Can't Salvage Free Enterprise Without a Battle

THE late Professor Schumpeter, of Harvard, used to contend that the most serious threat to capitalism was the ineptitude of the capitalists. As a current example you could take the weak response of too many businessmen and capitalists to the threat of the Buchanan lobbying committee, which is engaged in a counteroffensive against the few conservatives who have waged effective war against the socialist drift of the Truman Fair Deal.

The Buchanan committee has haled before it several groups which are engaged in propaganda in opposition to socialism. One of these groups is Frank Gannett's Committee for Constitutional Government, which is not charged with lobbying in Washington, but does print paper-covered editions of various books, including John T. Flynn's The Road Ahead, for distribution to the public.

Now comes the Buchanan committee and demands a full account of this operation, with a list of all those who have paid for bulk orders of The Road Ahead. The justification of this procedure, as attempted by Representative Buchanan, is that Congress is influenced by public opinion, therefore it is necessary to investigate bodies which influence public opinion. For the moment, the committee seems to be concerned mainly with certain unpopular individuals and with large corporations. But if the lobbying act is to be stretched out of its commonly accepted interpretation to include efforts to persuade the people as a whole, what becomes of freedom of press and opinion?

Opposition to the machinations of the Buchanan committee has usually taken the form of refusal to produce the information demanded by the committee. Inasmuch as a committee of Congress can compel the surrender of almost any information it wants, this is likely to be futile. Unaccompanied by adequate explanation, it also creates the impression that the individuals subpoenaed are trying to conceal something.

President W. C. Mullendore, of the Southern California Edison Company, did go to the bat with vigor on what he called the effort of the committee to "use intimidation in limiting the exercise of the right of free speech in opposing or supporting proposed legislation"; and the Committee for Constitutional Government took the ground that the Buchanan committee was interfering with its constitutional right as a publisher to immunity from unreasonable search and seizure. These were justified defenses, but more is required.

What is lacking is an offensive, more or less like that suggested by Frank Chodorov in Human Events. He quotes the Buchanan committee's statement that the Committee for Constitutional Government spent $1,571,240.72, or an average of $40,000 a month for the thirty-eight months studied. Says Mr. Chodorov:

"Peanuts and fiddlesticks. Every hour of the day the agencies of the Government spend more than that monthly average to influence legislation, and the legislation they plug is to lengthen their tenure, increase their appropriations, better their emoluments, strengthen their hold on the public purse.... The biggest, most pernicious, most unscrupulous and entirely selfish lobby in Washington is the Government. . . . Its list of contributors includes every man, woman and child in the United States. And yet it has the effrontery to point the finger of scorn at an organization that digs up a piddling $40,000 a month for printing and distribution of literature. . . ."

Let somebody add to the conventional lawyers' defense against the aggressions of the Buchanan committee something like this: "We challenge your authority under the Constitution, but we are not embarrassed or ashamed of what we are doing. John Flynn's The Road Ahead is an angry book, with here and there an excess of zeal, but it does expose the socialist nature of the Fair Deal program, an analysis already accepted by the British Labor Party. If there is any restriction in America on the right of persons, including corporations, to challenge the pretensions of a political group in this country, it hasn't yet been put in the form of law. Until freedom of speech has been outlawed by Congress, we intend to support our ideas by whatever authorities seem to us likely to arouse the people to their danger."

The only way the battle for a free economy will be won is by forthright resistance in terms that can be understood, not exclusively by demurrers and legal responses and applications for injunctions, important as these are. If the fight can be staged in an arena where people can see what punches are being thrown, free enterprise may have a chance. It certainly has none if its protagonists always make themselves look like bad boys talking their way out of something sly and discreditable.

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"A More Glorious Edifice than Greece or Rome Ever Saw"---

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on General Washington in 1832, Daniel Webster closed with the words quoted below. Now, 110 years later, when we must defend our heritage against "enemies *foreign* and *domestic,*" we bring them respectfully to your attention.

"Other misfortunes may be borne, or their effects overcome. If disastrous wars should sweep our commerce from the ocean, another generation may renew it; if it exhaust our treasury, future industry may replenish it; if it desolate and lay waste our fields, still, under a new cultivation, they will grow green again, and ripen to future harvests.

"It were but a trifle even if the walls of yonder Capitol were to crumble, if its lofty pillars should fall, and its gorgeous decorations be all covered by the dust of the valley. All these may be rebuilt.

(over)

RECORD OF THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN PARTY.

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The Republican party of this country since it became the dominant National party, has made a record which is most creditable to itself and to the country which produced it, a record which we cannot be too familiar with and which commaode the admiration of the civilized world.

A brief review of the principal public measures of the Republican party, in the world-wide interests of civilization, in the promotion of the welfare of the people of this country, in securing the blessings of civil liberty and protection io the enjoyment of natural and political rights to our citizens without distinction of race or condi tion in lite, will present a bright record of facts which challenges the attention and consideration of every one, and will clearly indicate whether the party has been subservient to the interests of the people in the past and should command their confidence and support in the future.

Never in the history of modern times did a political party come into power and assume the reins of National Government under more inanspicious circumstances than did the Republican party in 1861. Their President elected by a minority vote, a majority of their members ln Congress, comparatively inexperienced in the affairs of government, State after State withdrawing from the Union and arming for civil war, the seat of Government surrounded and largely filled up with a hostile population, teeming with spies, traitors and deadly enemies, the Government disarmed, its navy scattered to the ends of the earth, its army stationed in small detachments in the most remote and inaccessible territories, its armaries robbed and their contents in the hands of its enemies, its treasury bankrupt and with difficulty borrowing money at exorbitant rates to pay current expenses. This was the condition of affairs on the 4th of March, 1861, when Republican Members of Congress, by the authority of the people, took possession of the seats in the Halls of Legislation, so recently disgraced aod vacated by the Democratio allies of treason and rebellion.

The Government called for volunteers, raised and equipped an army to suppress the rebellion, seized upon and held the few remaining forts not in the possession of the rebels, united and strengthened the old and created a new navy, built up the credit of the coontry aod provided the means for arming and equipping large armies of volunteer patriots, removed the fetters of slavery from four millions of people and secured the blessings of civil and poblical equality to the citizens of every portion of the land. It suppressed the most formidable rebellion recorded in history, restored the unity of the Nation and formed a better Government, a more perfect union than ever before existed on the Continent. Our starry banner which on so many battle fields trailed in the dust, tattered and torn, and drenched in the blood of our patriot brothers and sons, it was instrumental in having restored to symbolize, not only freedom aod equality, but victory over every traitorous foe in the land.

The record of the leading Acts and Resolutions passed by Congress, furnishes the following data, namely:

July 29th, 1861. An Act to provide for the suppression of the rebellion against and resistance to the laws of the United States.

August 6th, 1861. An Act to confiscate all property and to set free all slaves used in aid of the rebellion.

February 19th, 1862. An Act to prohibit the Coolie trade by American citizens in American vessels.

March 13th, 1862. An Act forbidding and punishing the return of fugitive slaves, coming into our lines, by naval and military officers.

April 16th, 1862. An Act abolisning slavery in the District of Colombia.

May 15th, 1862. An Act establishing the Department of Agriculture.

May 20th, 1862. An Act to provide for the education for the children of the District of Columbia in public schools; also, an Act to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domaio.

May 21st, 1862. An Aot providing specially for the education of the colored children in the District of Columbia.

June 5th, 1862. An Act to authorize the President of the United States to appoint diplomatic representatives to Hayti and Liberia, respectively.

June 14th, 1862. An Act to protect the property of Indians who have adopted the habits of civilized life.

June 19th, 1862. An Act abolishing slavery and forever prohibiting its existence in the Territories of the United States.

July 1st, 1862. An Act to aid in the construction of the Pacific Railroad, and telegraph lioe from the Missouri river to the Pacific ocean; also an Act to punish and prevent the practice of polygamy in the Territories of the United States, and annulling certain Acts of the Legislative assembly of Utah.

July 2d, 1862. An Act donating public lands to the several States and Territories which may provide Colleges for the benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic arts.

July 11th, 1862. An Act to carry into effect the Treaty with Great Britain, for the suppression of the African slave-trade.

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*8.

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THE REPUBLICAN PARTY,

THE

STANDARD-BEARER

OF

CIVILIZATION

AND

NATIONAL PROGRESS.

INTRODUCTORY.

As the Greeks, in their earlier and better days, met every fourth year to engage in the Olympic contests, which crystalized traditions, renewed the pledges of patriotic devotion, and awakened intellectual and dramatic activity; so are we about to engage in a quadrennial contest, which involves a general review and discussion of political questions in every township of our land.

Whether the campaign shall be profitable to the government and nation; whether the incoming administration shall receive new political light and instruction; and whether our citizens shall come out of the contest more patriotic and better qualified to discharge their electoral functions, depends very much upon the manner in which public questions are presented. It is true, efforts are being made to usher in a warfare of old odors which even the Chinese have abandoned; to draggle the flags in the mire; and to overwhelm the better and honest judgment of the voters by the vehement explosion of vile epithets; but confident of the intelligence of our citizens, we shall pass by these efforts with silent contempt, and present the affirmative issues of the campaign for *discussion* not *concussion*, so that prejudice may be laid aside and the contest decided upon the merits of the great cause.

The demands of civilization upon government are numerous, complicated, and ever increasing, and the experiment of popular self-government has very rarely succeeded. Ours, in fact, is the only government upon a large scale which is peacefully administered and solely dependent upon the intelligence, virtue and patriotism of *all the people*. And inasmuch as the ballot of the ignorant and vicious man counts as much as that of the wisest and greatest, a great responsibility rests upon the honest citizen to exert all his influence to overbalance the vicious elements of society, and to sustain those principles of administration, which lead to national permanency and greatness. Not only is our own national and individual security and prosperity at stake, but also that of all future generations.

It is not merely the right, but the imperative duty of each citizen to demand a truthful exhibit of the stewardship of the Republican party and the administration which executed its will; and for this purpose we present herewith a bird's eye view of its activities, tendencies, and achievements in the various branches of governmental affairs. But as all political documents must be brief to receive general perusal, we only give the outlines, which each reader can fill out with collateral suggestions.

A SKETCH OF DEMOCRATIC TIMES.

Foremost among these achievements we place all legislative acts to secure the personal freedom of the citizen, but before we can realize the progress made in this direction we must briefly sketch the political situation. Only ten years ago, between three and four millions of human beings were subject to bargain and sale like the cattle of the field, and prohibited by law from learning even to read or write; the press, the forum, and even the pulpit, in more than one-half of the Union, defended this accursed tyranny; freedom of discussion was entirely suppressed in the South, and accompanied by perils in the North; the strong arm of the government was invoked to thrust back into this seething hell of slavery all venturesome vic-

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#10

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THE WORKINGMAN'S FRIEND.

INTRODUCTORY—THE OBJECT OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

No. 1.

In a Republican Government, political parties are essential State machinery, without which there would be political stagnation; but while we recognize this fact, we must also remember that parties are only means, not ends. They are instruments solely for the enforcement of principles, ideas, and policies for the benefit of the entire nation; and as it is an axiom that truth alone is immortal, ever triumphant, and conquering error; only that political party which adapts itself to the progressive spirit of the age, and seeks the promotion of the permanent and universal welfare of the people, will be enduring, and honored with their confidence and support. And whenever any party ceases to be in harmony with the reformatory and progressive tendency of the times, it ceases to be the representative of the majority, which alone confers upon it efficacy and governing power.

THE VITAL ADVANTAGE OF FREE GOVERNMENT.

The benefits and blessings of a Republican government, which guarantees to every citizen an equal voice in the management of affairs, consist not chiefly in the fact that the Republic gives greater security to life and property than the Monarchy; that it is more economical; that its civil service is of greater efficiency, or that it commits fewer errors of public policy. The chief value of a Republic consists in the immense spiritual distance and personal capability of a self-governing citizen and a governed subject. The consciousness of power, and consequent self-respect, the practical acceptation of the fact that every man, no matter what his circumstances in life or his vocation, is equally a ruler and part of the governing power, and that government is not *above*, but of him, are the chief advantages which a republican State presents. It is in these energizing and beneficient influences upon the growth of personal character, wherein is manifested the infinite superiority of republican over monarchical institutions, before which all minor considerations of relative economy and efficiency dwindle into insignificance.

GOOD GOVERNMENT ESSENTIAL TO HUMAN HAPPINESS.

Twenty-two centuries ago, Solon, the great law-giver of the Athenians, and the wisest man of his age, in describing the happiest man whom he ever knew, placed foremost as the first essential condition of that happiness, that he "lived in Greece, a well ordered State."

The air we breathe, the water we drink, and the genial sunshine that bathes us, are not the less essential or vital to life because they are so abundant that we take no notice, and even neglect to thank a beneficient Providence which has so fully adapted them to our needs. And in this great republic, security of life and property, an untrammelled press, a free religion, freedom to change one's occupation and to aspire to any office within the gift of the people, are principles of so universal recognition, that we do not fully appreciate these essential and vital conditions to a happy and well developed life; nor are we sufficiently grateful and attached to our government which alone guarantees them. We should never forget that this is the only great and well-ordered republican State in the world; that everywhere else we have either despotisms, absolute or qualified, or nominal republics tempered with anarchy and civil wars.

THE DUTIES WE OWE TO THE GOVERNMENT.

To ensure the permanency of this magnificent and inestimable inheritance, we owe it more than our vote and pecuniary support; we owe it our highest thought, constant vigilance, and zealous co-operation. Not only in time of war has the government a right to command our lives and fortunes, but in time of peace it has the right to demand our most profound thought and watchful care.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY MAINLY COMPOSED OF WORKINGMEN.

The great majority of the people of the United States, who are toilers with brain and hand, are particularly interested in the maintainence of our government. The Republican party, under whose leadership the government is now moving, is composed almost exclusively of laboring men; in the North and West, its stronghold is among the farmers and the mechanics of the villages, and in the South its most enthusiastic supporters are the recently emancipated slaves. Thus the separate interests of the workingmen are safe in its keeping; for while we have an abundant number of laborers we have, thank God, no laboring class—no hereditary caste. Men may be engaged either in physical or mental labors, or in any particular branch thereof, during their whole life, but it is entirely voluntary, and many of them change from one to the other as it may to them seem best.

THERE IS NO PERMANENT LABORING CLASS.

The assumption that there is a laboring class, or inferior caste, having separate and antagonistic interests, which descends from father to son, and from which no one can rise or change is a monarchical idea, imported from abroad and inapplicable to our country. And to prevent the formation of a permanent laboring class, as distinguished from a professional or a capitalist class, ought to be the object of earnest solicitude with every American statesman and thinker.

NO NATURAL ANTAGONISM BETWEEN LABOR AND CAPITAL.

For the purpose of convenient distinction, and not because there exists such an absolute line of demarkation in real life, we may assume that there are three distinct stages of capital in the United States; the capital of physical labor, the capital of mental labor, and the capital of accumulated or capitalized labor. Between these three classes of capitalists there is no natural or necessary antagonism. All of them are interested in the security of life and property, in the enforcement of contracts, in the

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LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CITY OF WASHINGTON

No. 19.] [8 pp.

#11

Der finanzielle Record der republikanischen Partei.

Auszug aus einer Rede

des

Achtb. William P. Frye,

von Maine,

im

Repräsentantenhause,

am

20. März, 1880.

Während der Debatte über die Fundirung der Bundesschuld hielt Herr Frye folgende Rede:

Herr Sprecher!

Ich kann diese Gelegenheit nicht unbenützt verstreichen lassen, ohne die Aufmerksamkeit des Volkes auf die wunderbare Finanzgeschichte unseres Landes während der letzten zwanzig Jahre zu lenken. Unser in der Weltgeschichte beispiellos dastehender Erfolg in dieser Beziehung ist hauptsächlich dem Patriotismus, der Treue und Anhänglichkeit der republikanischen Partei zu verdanken. Wie ein Fels stand sie fest gegen jeden Anprall finanzieller Irrthümer, gegen die Wogen der Geldverwässerung und Repudiation, in deren Fluthen die finanzielle Rechtlichkeit der Nation unterzugehen drohte.

Was lehrt ein Rückblick auf die Geschichte? Während der letzten demokratischen Administration wurden unter'm Gesetz vom Dezember 1860 Schatzamtsnoten im Betrage von $10,010,900 zu einer Zinsrate von 6 bis 12 Prozent ausgegeben und verkauft, und zwar nahezu 5 Millionen zu 12 Prozent. Weitere Angebote, die zwischen 15 und 36 Prozent schwankten, wurden abgelehnt. Unter dem Gesetze vom Februar 1861 wurde eine Anleihe von fünfundzwanzig Millionen sechsprozentiger Noten, einlösbar nach zwanzig Jahren, ausgegeben; etwa 18½ Millionen wurden zum Preise von etwas über 89 Cents am Dollar verkauft, und der Rest aus dem Markte zurückgezogen.

So sehr war der Credit der Regierung gesunken, daß der Schatzamtssekretär im Januar 1861 dem Congresse als Aushülfsmittel vorschlug, daß die verschiedenen Staaten ersucht werden sollten, die Garantie für die Rückzahlung etwaiger Anleihen, zu welchen sich die Bundesregierung gezwungen sehen sollte, durch Verpfändung der Depositen zu übernehmen, welche sie von der Regierung unter dem Gesetze von 1836 über die Vertheilung der Ueberschüsse der Einnahmen erhielten; der Schatzamtssekretär glaubte, daß eine Anleihe, welcher neben der Garantie der Bundesregierung noch die der einzelnen Staaten zur Seite stand, für Kapitalisten sicher annehmbar sein würde.

Vor März 1861 hatten sieben Staaten der Union den Rücken gekehrt, eine Conföderation errichtet, einen Präsidenten und Vice-Präsidenten gewählt; ihr Congreß war zusammengetreten; eine Armee war ausgerüstet; General Twiggs hatte Bundestruppen in Texas übergeben und ein demokratischer Präsident der Ver. Staaten hatte sich all' Dem feig mit der Erklärung gefügt, daß der Congreß unter unserer Constitution keine Macht besitze, einen rebellirenden Staat mit Gewalt unter die Botmäßigkeit des Bundes zu bringen. Am 4. März 1861 gelangte die repub-

-copy 2-

JK2357.1900

DOCUMENT No. 126.

#12

Republikanische National-Platform,

1900.

Die Republikaner der Vereinigten Staaten geben durch ihre im National-Konvent versammelten erwählten Vertreter im Rückblick auf eine unübertroffene Kette von Erfolgen und im Ausblick auf ein weites Feld der Pflicht und Gelegenheit, indem sie an das Urtheilsvermögen ihrer Landsleute appelliren, die folgenden Erklärungen ab:

Die vor vier Jahren gemachten Versprechungen sind eingelöst.

Die Erwartung, mit welcher sich das amerikanische Volk vor vier Jahren von der demokratischen Partei abwandte und die Macht einem republikanischen Oberbeamten und einem republikanischen Kongreß anvertraute, ist erfüllt und befriedigt worden. Als sich die Bürger damals, beim Schlusse eines Termins demokratischer Verwaltung an den Stimmplätzen versammelten, war das Geschäft todt, die Industrie gelähmt und der nationale Kredit in bedenklicher Weise erschüttert. Das Kapital des Landes hatte sich verborgen, die Arbeiter waren in Noth und ohne Beschäftigung. Die Demokraten sahen kein anderes Mittel, um diese zum Ruine führenden Verhältnisse, welche sie selbst verursacht hatten, zu bessern, als die Prägung von Silber nach dem Verhältnisse von 16 zu 1. Die republikanische Partei aber verdammte diesen Plan, weil er mit Sicherheit zu noch schlimmeren Zuständen führen mußte, als diejenigen, denen man abzuhelfen suchte, und versprach, den Wohlstand mittels zweier Gesetze wieder herzustellen: eines Schutztarifs und eines Gesetzes, welches Gold zum Werth-Standard machte. Mit großen Mehrheiten betraute das Volk die republikanische Partei mit Erlaß dieser Gesetze. Der Auftrag ist ausgeführt und das republikanische Versprechen eingelöst. Neuer Wohlstand, allgemeiner und reichlicher, als wir ihn je gekannt, ist dem Erlaß dieser Maßregeln gefolgt. Nicht länger wird über den Werth irgend einer Regierungs-Obligation gestritten. Jeder amerikanische Dollar ist ein Golddollar oder hat garantirtermaßen den Werth eines solchen, und der amerikanische Kredit steht höher, als der irgend einer anderen Nation. Das Kapital ist vollauf in Anspruch genommen, und allüberall findet der Arbeiter lohnende Beschäftigung. Keine andere einzelne Thatsache kann es deutlicher illustriren, was republikanische Herrschaft für das Land bedeutet, als diese, daß während der ganzen 107-jährigen Periode von 1790 bis 1897 der Ueberschuß der Ausfuhr über die Einfuhr nur $383,028,497 betrug, während er in den kurzen drei Jahren der gegenwärtigen republikanischen Herrschaft auf die ungeheure Summe von $1,483,537,094 angewachsen ist.

Der Krieg mit Spanien.

Und während das amerikanische Volk mit Hülfe dieser republikanischen Gesetzgebung diese herrlichen Triumphe in Geschaft und Handel errungen hat, hat es gleichzeitig einen Krieg für Freiheit und Menschenrechte geführt und zum siegreichen Ende gebracht. Kein Gedanke an nationale Vergrößerung befleckt den hohen Zweck, für welchen die amerikanische Flagge entfaltet wurde. Der Krieg war nicht gesucht; wir bemühten uns mit Geduld, ihn zu vermeiden; aber als er kam war die republikanische Regierung bereit. Ihre Flotten waren klar zum Gefecht. Ihre Armeen standen im Felde und der rasche und glänzende Triumph ihrer Streitkräfte zu Lande und zu Wasser legte gleich hohes Zeugniß für den Muth der amerikanischen Soldaten und Matrosen ab, wie für die Weisheit und Voraussicht der republikanischen Staatskunst. Zehn Millionen Angehörigen des Menschengeschlechts wurde eine Wiedergeburt der Freiheit und dem amerikanischen Volke eine neue und erhabene Verantwortlichkeit gegeben.

Präsident McKinley's Administration endossirt.

Wir endossiren die Verwaltung von Wm. McKinley. Ihre Handlungen haben sich durch Weisheit und Klugheit ausgezeichnet, und im Inlande, wie im Auslande hat sie den Einfluß der amerikanischen Nation sichtlich gehoben und ausgedehnt. Obgleich er noch nie betretene Pfade zu gehen und unvorhergesehene Verantwortlichkeiten auf sich zu nehmen hatte, war Präsident McKinley in allen Lagen der echte amerikanische Patriot, der aufrichtige Staatsmann, klar im Geist, sicher im Urtheil, fest in der Ausführung, immer Vertrauen einflößend und Vertrauen verdienend.

JK2357.1900

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, 1900.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

M. A. HANNA, Cleveland, Ohio, Chairman.
PERRY S. HEATH, Indiana, Secretary.
CORNELIUS N. BLISS, New York, Treasurer.

HENRY C. PAYNE, Milwaukee, Wis.
R. C. KERENS, St. Louis, Mo.
N. B. SCOTT, Wheeling, W. VA.
JOSEPH H. MANLEY, Augusta, Me.
FREDERICK S. GIBBS, New York.
GRAEME STEWART, Chicago, Ill.
HARRY C. NEW, Indianapolis, Ind.
FRANKLIN MURPHY, Newark, N. J.

State.	Member.	Post Office.
ALABAMA	J. W. DEMMICK	MONTGOMERY.
ARKANSAS	POWELL CLAYTON	(MINISTER TO MEXICO.) EUREKA SPRINGS.
CALIFORNIA	WM. C. VAN FLEET	SAN FRANCISCO.
COLORADO	E. O. WOLCOTT	(U. S. SENATE.) DENVER.
CONNECTICUT	CHAS. F. BROOKER	ANSONIA.
DELAWARE	JOHN EDWARD ADDICKS	WILMINGTON.
FLORIDA	JOHN G. LONG	ST. AUGUSTINE.
GEORGIA	JUDSON W. LYONS, (REGISTER OF THE TREASURY, WASHINGTON.)	AUGUSTA.
IDAHO	GEO. L. SHOUP	(U. S. SENATE.) BOISE CITY.
ILLINOIS	GRAEME STEWART	CHICAGO.
INDIANA	HARRY C. NEW	INDIANAPOLIS.
IOWA	ERNEST E. HART	COUNCIL BLUFFS.
KANSAS	DAVID W. MULVANE	TOPEKA.
KENTUCKY	JOHN W. YERKES	DANVILLE.
LOUISIANA	LEWIS S. CLARK	PATTERSON.
MAINE	JOSEPH H. MANLEY	AUGUSTA.
MARYLAND	LOUIS E. McCOMAS	(U. S. SENATE.) HAGERSTOWN.
MASSACHUSETTS	GEO. V. L. MEYER	BOSTON.
MICHIGAN	WILLIAM H. ELLIOTT	(207 WOODWARD AVE.) DETROIT.
MINNESOTA	THOMAS H. SHEVLIN	MINNEAPOLIS.
MISSISSIPPI	H. C. TURLEY	NATCHEZ.
MISSOURI	RICHARD C. KERENS	ST. LOUIS.
MONTANA	WM. H. DE WITT	HELENA.
NEBRASKA	R. B. SCHNEIDER	FREMONT.
NEVADA	PATRICK L. FLANNAGAN	RENO.
NEW HAMPSHIRE	CHAS. T. MEANS	MANCHESTER.
NEW JERSEY	FRANKLIN T. MURPHY	NEWARK.
NEW YORK	FREDERICK S. GIBBS	NEW YORK.
NORTH CAROLINA	JETER C. PRITCHARD	(U. S. SENATE.) MARSHALL.
NORTH DAKOTA	ALEXANDER McKENZIE	BISMARK.
OHIO	MYRON T. HERRICK	CLEVELAND.
OREGON	GEORGE A. STEEL	PORTLAND.
PENNSYLVANIA	M. STANLEY QUAY	BEAVER.
RHODE ISLAND	CHARLES R. BRAYTON	PROVIDENCE.
SOUTH CAROLINA	E. A. WEBSTER	ORANGEBURG.
SOUTH DAKOTA	J. M. GREENE	CHAMBERLAIN.
TENNESSEE	WALTER P. BROWNLOW, M. C.	(WASHINGTON, D. C.) JONESBORO.
TEXAS	R. B. HAWLEY, M. C.	(WASHINGTON, D. C.) GALVESTON.
UTAH	O. J. SALISBURY	SALT LAKE CITY.
VERMONT	JAMES W. BROCK	MONTPELIER.
VIRGINIA	GEORGE E. BOWDEN	NORFOLK.
WASHINGTON	GEO. H. BAKER	GOLDENDALE.
WEST VIRGINIA	N. B. SCOTT	(U. S. SENATE.) WHEELING.
WISCONSIN	HENRY C. PAYNE	MILWAUKEE.
WYOMING	WILLIS D. VANDEVANTER	(INTERIOR DEPT. WASHINGTON, D. C.) CHEYENNE.

Territories, District of Columbia and Hawaii:

ALASKA	JOHN G. HEID	JUNEAU

JK 2357.1904

#14

The Republican Party

"A party fit to govern"

An Address by

John Hay

Delivered at Jackson, Mich., July 6, 1904

and

The Address of

Elihu Root

As Temporary Chairman of the National Republican Convention at Chicago, Ill., Tuesday, June 21, 1904

JK2357. 1904

#15

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Republican Party

1854--1904

JULY SIXTH
Jackson, Michigan
MCMIV

JK2357.1904.

#16

PLATFORMS

OF THE

Republican and Democratic Parties

1904

Also, an analysis of the Democratic platform

and

A chronological Record of the St. Louis-Esopus Episode, including the rejected gold plank, the Parker telegram, the reply of the Convention, and the unrepealed silver planks of 1896 and 1900

also

The Democratic Record on the Gold Standard act of 1900

and

The Record of the Democratic and Republican Parties on Financial Questions, 1860 to 1904.

10

JK2357.1906

#17

EDUCATE AGITATE ORGANIZE

Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs

Headquarters
Americus Club
Pittsburg

Office of President
426 Diamond Street
Pittsburg

PITTSBURG, APRIL 10th, 1906.

To the Pennsylvania State League of Republican Clubs:

Patriotic Pennsylvanians are proud of their State; proud of its history from Penn to Pennypacker; proud of her many noble sons, her wonderful resources, and her peerless indnstries.

Prond of the fact that it was within her borders that the liberty bell proclaimed the glad tidings that thirteen British Colonies had become a free and independent Nation.

Pennsylvania Republicans are proud of the fact that their party was born within the borders of their State, at the headwaters of the broad Ohio, amid the smudge, soot and smoke of the Iron City.

A conference between Salmon P. Chase and Deacon David N. White, editor of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, at the Monongahela House, resulted in a call for a convention to be held in historical La Fayette Hall, at Pittsburg, February 22nd, 1856.

The call was to Whigs, Democrats, Free Soilers, Know-Nothings, Anti-Nebraskans, and men of other parties, to form a basis of union for all the various fragments of political organizations opposed to slavery extension.

Among the noted men who answered the summons by their attendance were Horace Greely, Henry J. Raymond, Joshua R. Giddings, Joseph R. Hawley, and Francis P. Blair, the latter being permanent chairman of the convention.

It was not a delegate convention, but a national mass meeting, at which every northern State, and several southern States were represented.

At this meeting the Republican party was born and its standard was unfurled to the breeze.

A committee was appointed to issue a call for a National Convention to meet at Musical Fund Hall, Philadelphia, on June 17th and 18th, composed of authorized delegates from every Congressional District to nominate candidates for President and Vice-President.

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#18

Republican Platform
1908

Adopted by the

Republican National Convention

at

CHICAGO

June 18th, 1908

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY 154

11-3-18

JK2357.1916

#19

WHO IS THE MOST AVAILABLE CANDIDATE?

BY CHARLES MACVEAGH

A Lawyer's Analysis of the Presidential Pre-Nomination Campaign

JK2357.1922
#20

The Woman, the Child and the Republican Party

A Record of Constructive, Humanitarian Achievement in Behalf of the Things in Which Women Voters of America Are Especially Interested.

Issued by
REPUBLICAN STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
1922
922 First National Bank Bldg., Detroit

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.1931

#21

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building

Washington, D. C.,
February 11, 1931

FUTURE RELEASE:

The following announcement is for publication in afternoon papers of Thursday, February 12, 1931.

Washington, February 12 -- Preceding President Hoover's Lincoln Day address at 10 o'clock tonight (Thursday) over a nation-wide hookup scores of speakers will deliver messages to Republican organizations throughout the country, it was announced at Republican National Committee headquarters today.

According to the plan outlined in December by Robert H. Lucas, executive director of the Republican National Committee, Republican rallies have been called for the purpose of listening to the address of the President. Preceding the presidential address there will be speeches by well known party leaders at the local rallies.

Included among the Lincoln Day speakers are the following:

Secretary of Agriculture Arthur M. Hyde,	at	Louisville, Ky.;
Assistant Attorney General Seth W. Richardson,	at	Toledo, Ohio;
Assistant Secretary of Agriculture Renick W. Dunlap,	at	Norwalk, Ohio;
Former Congressman John Byers,	at	Warren, Ohio;
Second Assistant Secretary of Labor W. W. Husband and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Seymour Lowman,	at	Elmira, N. Y.;
Robert H. Lucas, Executive Director, Republican National Committee,	at	Nashville, Tenn.;
Assistant Attorney General Charles P. Sisson,	at	Albany, N. Y.;
Former Governor W. L. Harding, of Iowa,	at	Kansas City, Mo;
Congressman Franklin W. Fort,	at	Greensboro, N. C.;
Former Governor D. W. Davis, of Montana,	at	Huntington, W. Va.;
Senator David Reed,	at	Meadeville, Pa.;
Congressman Joseph L. Hooper,	at	Baltimore, Md.;
Vice President Charles Curtis, Secretary of Interior Lyman Wilbur, Secretary of Labor William N. Doak, and General Frank T. Hines,	at	Mayflower Hotel, Washington, D. C.;
Theodore G. Risley, Solicitor of Dept. of Labor,	at	Washington, D. C.:
Congressman Charles A. Eaton,	at	Trenton, N.J.;
Congressman Richard J. Welch.	at	Philadelphia, Pa.

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#22

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building

Washington, D. C.,
February 13, 1931

FUTURE RELEASE:

The following statement by Joseph R. Nutt, Treasurer of the Republican National Committee, is for publication in MORNING papers of SATURDAY, February 14, 1931:

Washington, Feb. 13 -- Scoring the charges of Senator Blaine that post office lessors had contributed $1,250,000 to the Coolidge and Hoover campaigns as "utterly false" and "entirely inexcusable", Joseph R. Nutt, declared tonight that only one contribution has been received from post office lessors during the time he has been treasurer of the Republican National Committee. The lone contribution, Mr. Nutt said, was for $200.

Mr. Nutt rebuked Senator Blaine for not ascertaining the facts before making his statement and pointed out that the campaign contributions and expenditures of the Republican National Committee are public records on file at the Capitol.

Mr. Nutt's statement in full follows:

"As Treasurer of the Republican National Committee I take serious exception to a defamatory statement, broadcast through the press of the country that post office lessors contributed a million and a quarter dollars to the Coolidge and Hoover campaigns. This charge is utterly false and entirely inexcusable.

"Authority for this statement is attributed to Senator Blaine of Wisconsin. At a recent public hearing the Senator inquired of Governor Bartlett, former first assistant Postmaster General: 'Would you be surprised to learn that the beneficiaries under post office leases had contributed something like a million and a quarter dollars to the last two political campaigns?' While the remark was worded as a question, it implied that the Senator was prepared to answer it affirmatively. It was construed by the press as a flat charge that post office lessors had contributed this tremendous sum to the Coolidge and Hoover campaigns. Apparently this was what Senator Blaine intended as he has made no effort to correct this

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#35

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building

IMMEDIATE RELEASE.

Washington, D. C.,
February 28, 1931.

Robert H. Lucas, Executive Director of the Republican National Committee, in a statement tonight replying to a report of the Nye Committee asserted that he had filed a statement of his personal expenditures in the last campaign within the time required by law. His statement, telephoned to Committee headquarters here from Jacksonville, Florida, is as follows:

"My personal expenditures of the last campaign were paid December 2 and no report was due until January 1. My report was made and filed with the Clerk of the Senate on December 22".

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building

FUTURE RELEASE.

Washington, D. C.,
March 9, 1931.

The following statements by Robert H. Lucas, Executive Director of the Republican National Committee, and Senator L. J. Dickinson, of Iowa, are for publication in MORNING papers of TUESDAY, March 10, 1931:

Announcement of the organization of an Advisory Council for Agriculture in the Republican National Committee was made today by Robert H. Lucas, Executive Director of the national party organization. It will consist of two Senators and two Congressmen from the agricultural districts under the chairmanship of Senator L. J. Dickinson, of Iowa. Mr. Lucas' announcement follows:

"An Advisory Council for Agriculture has been organized to cooperate with the Republican National Committee in its work in the farm belt. Senator L. J. Dickinson, of Iowa, is Chairman of the Council and the other members are Senator Arthur Capper, of Kansas; Congressman Robert G. Simmons, of Nebraska and Fred S. Purnell, of Indiana.

"The Council will have headquarters both in Washington and in the far-west, and will begin its organization work immediately in the mid-west and northwestern states, embracing the corn and wheat belts. It will be actively engaged, both in organization work and in the dissemination of accurate information regarding the various constructive steps which the Administration has taken to aid the farmers and to save them from bankruptcy in this critical period of economic depression and drought.

"Senator Dickinson, the chairman, was a leader of the farm bloc in the House of Representatives and has had a large hand in the formation of farm relief measures over a long period of years. He was elected to the Senate last November on the platform endorsing the work of the Administration in farm aid.

"Senator Capper originally organized and was the leader of the farm bloc in the Senate, and long has been regarded as one of agricultures most influential spokesmen in that branch of Congress. He is the publisher of a number of farm papers and few men have a keener grasp of the agricultural situation than he possesses.

"Congressman Simmons comes from a great farming section in Nebraska and is thoroughly conversant with the problems of agriculture. He was director of the western Speakers' Bureau of the Republican Congressional Committee in the 1930 campaign, and will be chairman of the sub-committee on agricultural appropriations of the House of Representatives in the new Congress which meets in December.

"Congressman Purnell is the ranking member of the Committee on Agriculture in

JK2357.1931

For Release to
Morning Newspapers

of Wednesday, April 1, 1931

The following speech will be delivered at Washington, D. C., on March 31, 1931, at 4:30 PM, E.S.T., over the Columbia Broadcasting Co., network, and is under the auspices of the National Student Federation. Senator Dickinson's subject is "Why The Republican Party", one of a series of discussions of the party system by prominent political leaders conducted by the National Student Federation

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In assuming the duties of citizenship, it should be the pleasure and the obligation of every young person to study the policies and the personnel of the respective political parties, reach a conclusion as to which one you desire to affiliate yourselves with and pledge your plight accordingly.

It has been noted that some of the Democratic speakers have given unusual emphasis to the historical setting of the two dominant parties of today. It is not my intention to detract in any way from the glories of either party so far as their historical influence is concerned, but while my Democratic friends are giving so much credit to Thomas Jefferson as the champion of the rights of the people, it seems to me that some fifty years after the triumph of Jefferson, another champion arose in behalf of human rights. Lincoln probably did more to direct the trend of the public mind towards individual rights and responsibility than any other American. So when you are asked to memorialize Jefferson, with whose reforms I am in thorough accord, just remember the next great reform was led by Abraham Lincoln, the foremost and earliest champion of the Republican cause.

In these times of independent thinking, it is but natural for a great many people to say that they do not care for either one of the present day political parties. However, it has been shown many times that no political party can be formulated to suit the views of an individual. No single subject has ever been sufficiently dominant in the thinking of our 120 million people to make such suggestion the foundation around which a new political party could be formulated. One group may be thinking of agriculture, another of prohibition, another of power, another of unemployment, but in the end a successful party will be the party that commits itself on a majority of these questions so as to suit the majority of the citizenship of our country taking active interest in politics.

This is the reason many of the reforms in this country, although promulgated by individuals and in some instances by one-idea political parties, such reforms have never been successful as independent or third party movements, and not until they have fitted themselves into the political platform and become part of one of the major parties.

Just now there is an agitation to do away with the electoral college on the

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building

FUTURE RELEASE

Washington, D. C.
April 4, 1931

6

The following address on "Southern Republicanism Today", by Honorable Robert H. Lucas, Executive Director of the Republican National Committee, over the Dixie Network, Columbia Broadcasting System, will be delivered from 8:15 to 8:30 p. m., Eastern Standard Time, Wednesday, April 8th, at Washington, and is for release to MORNING newspapers of THURSDAY, April 9th.

Henry W. Grady, one of the ablest and most eloquent of Americans and the most beloved of southern sons, foresaw half a century ago the coming of the "New South" which, with its diversified crops and multiplied industries, would challenge the supremacy of the North and West. With what accuracy he foretold the development of his section of the country is evidenced by the fact that today the agricultural products of the South exceed by $360,000,000 the agricultural products of the entire United States the year Henry Grady tipped his eloquent tongue with prophecy, and the value of products of manufacturing industries in the South is within 6% of the value of all the products of all the manufacturing industries in the United States when Grady lived.

This development has not been by chance or luck. It has been due to the same causes that have contributed to the development of all other sections of the United States during this generation -- individual enterprise and initiative, capital seeking profitable fields of investment, personal industry and thrift upon the part of all those who toil and contribute in any way to production in the field or fabrication in the factory. But even these could not have been achieved, if they had had to contend with unjust or unwise legislation or administration in the conduct of our federal government. There is a very intimate relation between material progress and public policies. In order to develop, private enterprises of any kind or size must have confidence in the policies of their government — must feel secure against the likelihood of hostile legislation or unnecessary official harrassment.

During all this period of development of the South the Republican Party has been in control of one or both branches of the Congress, with the exception of eight years — the six first years of President Wilson's administration, and the two panic-ridden years of 1893-95 under President Cleveland. With these two brief and widely separated exceptions, the economic policies of the Republican Party have been in continuous effect since Grady's day. Under them, and because of them, the South, in common with the rest of the nation, has gone forward and come into its own.

It is a favorite occupation of a certain class of politicians to characterize the Republican Party as an enemy of the South, to charge Republican policies as discriminatory against the South, and to portray the Republican Party as a party of "special privilege", which is vaguely interpreted to mean

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#27

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building

Washington, D. C.
May 2, 1931.

FUTURE RELEASE:

For publication in MORNING papers of MONDAY, May 4.

Charles F. Scott, Editor of the Iola Kansas Register, and a former Member of Congress from Kansas, has been added to the headquarters staff of the Republican National Committee. He will have charge of the newly created weekly and farm newspaper bureau.

Mr. Scott has been prominent in Republican party affairs for a number of years and served in Congress from 1901 to 1911. He has a very wide acquaintance among publishers and editors of weekly and farm newspapers.

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#28

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building

Washington, D. C.
May 2, 1931.

FUTURE RELEASE:

The following statement by Robert H. Lucas, executive director of the Republican National Committee, is for publication in morning papers of Sunday, May 3.

Washington, May 2.--- Robert H. Lucas, Executive Director of the Republican National Committee, announced today that a conference of young Republican men and women representing the various states will be held in Washington on June 11 and 12 for the purpose of adopting plans for a nation-wide organization of young Republicans.

The National Committeeman in each state has been requested to designate one young man, and the National Committeewoman has been requested to designate one young woman to represent the state in this conference. Those who are designated to attend this conference will assume the leadership in the organization of young voters on their return to their respective states.

During the two days of the conference addresses will be delivered by leaders high in the councils of the party, both state and national, and there will be a general round table discussion among the delegates themselves as to how best to carry forward the organization work.

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Barr Building.

Washington, D. C.,
May 14, 1931.

FUTURE RELEASE.

The following excerpts from an address by Representative Menalcus Lankford, of Virginia, which will be delivered to the young men and women of the South over the Dixie Network, Columbia Broadcasting System, from 7:15 to 7:30 P. M., Eastern Standard Time, Friday, May 15, at Washington, are for RELEASE to MORNING papers of SATURDAY, May 16.

Washington, May 15 -- In a radio address tonight over the Dixie Network, Representative Menalcus Lankford, of Virginia, urged the young people of the South to abandon sectionalism, with its narrowness, inefficiency and prejudice, and extended an invitation to his audience to enlist in the Republican Party.

Stressing the value of two-party competition as a means of insuring the highest type of service to the community, Representative Lankford emphasized the need of allegiance to the Republican Party in order that the national leadership and influence of the south, lessened through adherence to the Democratic party, be restored.

"The future welfare and happiness of the American people rests in the hands of its young men and women", Mr. Lankford said.

"Ever since I have been old enough to think seriously of the political problems of our country, I have realized the weakness of sectionalism and the strength of a united country and I have longed for the day when there would be no North, no South, no East, no West, in our political structure, but a nation united in every sense that the word implies, divided into two great parties, along constructive and economic lines, as we should be, and not along sectional or purely traditional lines, as we should not be.

"Tradition has been so deeply imbedded in the minds and hearts of you young people of the South that it is difficult to look out over a broader horizon and see the problems that confront the nation, with independence of political thought and without viewing these problems through glasses colored with the political prejudices, among which you have been raised, and in the light of recollections of a past that is forever gone.

"We are now living in a new and different age. The problems that confront

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building

FUTURE RELEASE.

Washington, D. C.,
May 27, 1931.

The program for the Young Republican Conference in Washington, June 11 and 12, as announced today by Executive Director Robert H. Lucas, of the Republican National Committee, is for publication in MORNING papers of THURSDAY, May 28.

Three members of the President's cabinet and a number of distinguished men and women, eminent in the political and economic life of America, will address the first national Conference of Young Republicans to be held June 11 and 12, at the Willard Hotel, under the auspices of the Republican National Committee.

The Honorable Patrick J. Hurley, Secretary of War, Postmaster General Walter F. Brown and the Honorable Arthur M. Hyde, Secretary of Agriculture, have accepted invitations to address the Young Republican delegates who will represent every state at the national Conference.

In addition, the list of distinguished guests who will speak during the course of the two day session includes the Honorable Simeon D. Fess, United States Senator from Ohio, and Chairman of the Republican National Committee; the Honorable David S. Ingalls, Assistant Secretary of the Navy; the Honorable Robert A. Taft, of Cincinnati; Dr. William Starr Myers, Professor of Political Science at Princeton University; Dr. James J. Robinson, Professor of Law at the University of Indiana; Mrs. Edward Everett Gann, sister of Vice President Charles Curtis; the Honorable Arthur M. Free, United States Representative from California; the Honorable W. Kingsland Macy, Chairman of the Republican State Committee of New York; Miss Katherine V. Parker, President of the Republican Women's Club of Massachusetts; the Honorable William B. Harrison, Mayor of Louisville; and the Honorable Peter F. Snyder, Assistant to the Secretary of Labor.

The first session of the Conference will open Thursday, June 11th, at 9 A. M. in the Willard Hotel and continue until noon. The afternoon meeting will be from 2:30 until 4:30 P. M. The morning session, Friday, June 12th, will be from 10 A. M. until 1 P. M. In the evening there will be a dinner and dance given by the Young Republicans of the National Capital Republican Club.

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FUTURE RELEASE

Washington, D. C.
June 6, 1931

The following abstract of an address by William Starr Meyers, professor of political science at Princeton University, is for publication in Morning Papers of Saturday, June 13, 1931:

Pleading for an united and courageous Republican party, Dr. William Starr Meyers, professor of political science at Princeton University, declared in an address tonight at the Young Republicans' Conference here that the American people knew full well " in spite of every futile attempt to fool them that Herbert Hoover was in no way responsible for these economic troubles, the unemployment, the suffering and the privation.

"Far from that," he said, "they are thankful that at this very time of trouble and cirsis they have had and still have at the helm of the Ship of State a man with a firm hand, unfaltering courage and an understanding heart. In other words, a man who has kept his head.

"And so I would plead for co-operation on the part of all members of the government, in order safely and speedily to reach the calm waters of hope and prosperity that undoubtedly lie before us as a nation and as a people. And this applies to persons of all sorts of party and political faith.

"To express merely my own views, I feel that the most statesmanlike act on the part of our friends the Democrats, was the statement last November by seven of their national leaders that they would lay partizanship aside, at least in a great measure, and co-operate with the President and other people of varying policical views in common service for the welfare of the country. That was the most dangerous movement to threaten Republican success which has been made in several decades, for it tended to restore confidence in the ability of the Democratic party to administer the government.

"Unfortunately for our Democratic friends, certain of the members of their party in Congress, and even one or two of the seven leaders themselves, forgot their counsels of statemanship and real party strategy, and indulged in a rather unfortunate exhibition of factional opposition. This did not win them the approval of the thinking people of the country, for you cannot fool all the people all the time.

"But at least I can plead for an united and courageous Republican party. It

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building

FUTURE RELEASE

Washington, D. C
June 8, 1931

Announcing a partial list of the Young Republicans who will attend the National Conference in Washington, June 11 & 12, Robert H. Lucas, of the Republican National Committee, issued the following statement for publication in afternoon papers of Tuesday, June 9:

"More than 300 delegates and representatives to the first National Conference of Young Republicans will convene at the Willard Hotel Thursday morning for the opening session of the two day Conference, arranged under the auspices of the Republican National Committee. Every section of the country will be represented at the Young Republican gathering including the Pacific coast states.

"The response of young Republicans everywhere to this opportunity to meet in Washington has exceeded my expectations and is most gratifying. Several months ago I suggested to the National Committeemen and National Committeewomen that they each send a young and active party leader to Washinggon for a small round-table conference. Replies poured in, not only from Committeemen and women, but also from members of Congress and state leaders with requests that they be permitted to send additional representatives. As a result the Young Republican Conference this week will have several hundred active participants.

"That so many young leaders of the party are willing to pay their expenses to Washington and take this much time from their vacation periods, is certainly indicative of a vigorous and wide-spread interest in the Republican party by the youth of the country.

"Arrangements have been completed for the meetings at the Willard Thursday and Friday and a large attendance is insured for the dinner, given by the Young Republicans of the National Capital Republican Club Friday evening."

"Among the many distinguished speakers who will address the Young Republicans are Secretary of War Patrick J. Hurley, Postmaster General Walter F. Brown, Secretary of Agriculture Arthur M. Hyde, and Senator Simeon D. Fess, of Ohio,
[illegible]"

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Barr Building

Washington, D. C.,
June 11, 1931

FUTURE RELEASE

"SEVENTY YEARS OF NATIONAL PROGRESS," excerpts from an address by Senator Simeon D. Fess, of Ohio, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, to be delivered at the Conference of Young Republicans, in the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., June 11, at 10:00 A. M., and is for RELEASE at that time.

The history of the progress of the United States is but the history of the Republican Party. For its monuments one needs but look at the record covering the last seventy years—a nation freed from the blight of traffic in human slaves, the preservation of an indissoluble union of sovereign states under one flag where every citizen is equal under the law without regard to race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and where are found one hundred and twenty millions of the hest housed, the hest clothed and the best fed people of the earth.

Through the system of protecting American high paid labor against the lower paid labor of foreign countries we have established and maintained a purchasing power that enables the working man to establish a home and educate his family. Here are found four times the number of home-owners among our laboring population over all the home owners rich and poor or well-to-do in Great Britain.

Here in the United States forty billion dollars have been invested in homes in the past ten years. In these homes will be found conveniences listed as necessities, which in other countries are listed as luxuries and limited to the well-to-do. As a suggestion, here in the United States is found one automohile for every five of our population, while outside of the United States, in which is termed the advanced nations, the ratio is one automohile for every 216 of the population

This is but one item among many others of general ownership of our people.

An examination of the records of our savings banks and our loan associations will reveal a remarkable situation upon the number of our people with savings accounts, and the amount of their savings. The number runs into the millions and amounts go into the billions. During this period of world-wide depression there have been suhstantial increases in the deposits.

The Republican Party has ever stood for a sound financial structure in which the American dollar whether gold or silver or paper is worth its face value and freely circulates without the slightest interruption, not only across 48 state lines among 120 millions of our own people, but with almost equal ease and facility among the people of every civilized nation of the globe.

From 1860 until the present the Repuhlican Party has directed the administration of affairs with the exception of the presidencies of two distinguished Democrats, each covering two terms, Grover Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson. In that period the party's record was suhmitted to the people 18 imes. In each case it was assailed by its opponents. It was approved in every case except four. In one instance its defeat was due to party division and in a second the war's appeal for retention of the war president.

During this period the nation has enjoyed the greatest progress known in the history of mankind.

Principles which are generally accepted today, one is led to think had never been contested, but a casual examination into our history will reveal a hitter contest over each of them. In fact, the literature of the political history of our country is largely made up of the contentions pro and con in which the Repuhlican Party has stood for these principles, while the Democratic Party has opposed them. This opposition was not confined to negation of the minority. It is true that in offering opposition tn these principles the Democratic Party has frequently espoused unsound measures as substitutes, only to be defeated by the superior strength of the argument of the Republican Party.

The American system of protective tariff is a good example. In the interest of maintaining a high wage scale in America as against the low paid wage in Europe, the protective tariff was enacted under the leadership of the Republican Party, with the leadership of the Democratic Party almost solidly arrayed against it. This opposition took various forms throughout our history. At first the Democratic Party urged the largest freedom of trade as the sounder basis. This never was acceptable to our people. Failing in this, the Democratic leadership urged the "tariff for revenue only," the nearest step to free trade, involving principles of free trade as against the American protective system Failing in this also, they then urged in opposition what they called "tariff for revenue only with incidental protection," thus conceding in a degree the principle of protection. Again failing in their effort to win favor along this line, they next opposed the protective tariff hy suggesting a competitive tariff, best represented hy the Underwood bill. This business paralyzing statute was on the books long enough to convince the American people of its unwisdom, who quickly reinstated the American protective system at the first election in which the people could be heard.

The Democratic party leadership is tnday somewhat divided on the measure. The wiser heads recognize the general approval on the part of the American people of the protective system. In spite of this, the party still is in opposition to American protection, and are urging a tariff that will place the American producer in cnmpetition with the foreign producer and thus would endanger the American wage scale by the cheaper wages of Europe.

During the entire period of our history covered hy Republican administration this contest in one form or another has been waged, and the danger of opening the market of America to the foreign producer is as imminent today as ever hefore.

The money question presents another example of unsound issues urged as a substitute for Republican principle of sound finance.

One of the fundamental principles of government under Republican administration is a sound financial system in which the American dollar, whether of gold, silver or paper, is passed in the currents of business for one hundred cents in every part of the civilized globe. This principle has heen preserved throughout our country in spite of the most vigorous and militant advocacy on the part of our enemies of a dehased currency. This opposition in the past has assumed many forms of agitation. It is always based upon the theory that we have not sufficient currency. The remedy they proposed was to increase this currency hy starting the government printing presses and issuing an ahundance of currency, the value of which was to be maintained hy the fiat of the government. The earliest fight against the Republican Party on this score was called the "rag bahy" money, where the opposition contended that neither gold nor silver was essential, but that the only requirement was for the government to print and stamp in the form of paper such amounts of money as was necessary. This contention was heard in the face of the famous green hack issue depreciation to thirty-seven cents on the dollar immediately following the Civil War. The "green hack" agitation gave rise to the populist movement that for the time, through the aid of the Democratic leadership, looked as if it would sweep the country as a national issue as it had already swept many states, but was successfully resisted only hy the sturdy Republican leadership that forced the recognition of the unwisdom of such government made remedies for an economic situation.

Having failed in these assaults upon the sound money basis of the Republican Party, the next form of opposition was heard in the free silver campaign just thirty-five years ago, when, under Democratic leadership, the country was assured that its greatest boon would be an unlimited cninage of silver in the ratio of sixteen to one as fixed hy law, thus ignoring totally the law of values and suhstituting in its place the government fiat in defiance of sound economic principles. For a decade the country was harangued on every stump, and in fact on every store box at almost every street corner of the large and small cities upon the "wisdom" of this government cure-all It was only through Republican leadership of the type of William McKinley that refused to be swept from its feet through this populistic movement that the American people were saved from the crime of repudiation. The message of McKinley "open the mills, not the mints" still rings in our ears. Even tnday, thirty-five years later, when many of the older citizens have forgotten the free silver contention and some of our younger citizens are familiar with the situation only through the study of history, we now have symptoms of a rejuvenation of the same general idea that it matters not what a commodity such as silver might he worth in the markets of the world, its price can be and should be fixed by the government.

What is historically true in the contest between the Republican administration and our opponents on the tariff and money questions is equally true on many other issues. It was so in Bryan's paramount issue in 1900, and his Trust bogy in 1904. It was so in the Wall Street issue in 1908. After our nation had emerged from the World War, the Democratic leadership immediately foisted upon the country a cure-all for future wars in the form of a League of Nations. The idea as proposed had a strong appeal in that all the world hopes and especially do the people of the United States that we may be preserved from the convulsions of war, but the stronger minds of our leadership, and especially that of the Republican Party, saw the danger of any proposal that would involve America in the domestic struggles of Europe and against her desire become a part of every political quarrel of the Old World. Examine the Democratic platforms of recent years on the League of Nations as a national issue. With the other discarded nostrums, it has gone to the junk pile.

Industrial depressions or crises are incident to disturhances of economic forces of whatever character, whether unstable governmental policies, over-expansion of industry or war inflation.

That of 1817 was mostly due tn the War of 1812.

The crisis of 1837 was due to the over-expansion of western land sales on the one hand and the fight against the ultimate destruction of the United States Bank on the other.

That of 1857 was most largely due to a free trade policy known as the Walker tariff bill and the over-stimulus of the Crimean War.

The crisis of 1873 was a direct result of the Civil War's over-stimulus and inflation of railroad huilding followed by inevitable reaction.

That of 1893 was the direct result of an assault upon the American system of protection as finally resulted in the Wilson bill, relief from which came through the Dingley bill two years later.

That of 1907 was largely due tn governmental efforts to curtail the course of big husiness in industry and the inevitahle disturbance of labor and capital in fear of hurtful legislatinn.

The crisis of 1921, while affected hy the over-expansion of industry through war demands, was most largely due tn the Underwood bill, which placed American labor in competition with European labor.

The war, opening in 1914, operated as complete protection against the importation of foreign goods. When peace was signed this protection was at an end. Whereupon the operation of the competitive tariff was unhindered. By 1921 its baleful effect was at its height. As usual the remedy demanded by the American public was the restoration of protection, which came in the Fordney-McCumber Act, when we entered upon a period of unprecedented prosperity. Never in the history of mankind has business activity reached so high a level. This high level was sustained during the longest period in husiness history. Capital was fully invested; labor was generally employed; wages were at the highest peak; prosperity was most widely distrihuted; purchasing power was at its maximum Efficiency of production was giving to the consumer a hetter product at a lower price with an increased wage. Money was abundant and credit was good.

These conditions permitted a high standard of living which naturally stimulated extravagance. Speculation hecame active and rapidly approached the danger point.

Symptoms of recession from war inflation and over-expansion were ominous in many parts of the world, where industry in spite of subsidy by government decrees hegan to shut down. It was too much to hope that the United States, although sound in all her basic industries could be exempt from the effects of a world-wide condition in which an economic chaos settled down upon it like a huge eclipse. As is usual the first shock came with the collapse of the market for securities.

No intelligent and fair minded citizen will hesitate to concede the masterful and heroic steps immediately taken by our President to prevent the usual course of industry in times of crises when retrenchment is the first step where to lessen expense labor is both laid off and reduced in wage, thus widening the chasm between the producer and consumer.

Within a week the President held conferences with all the leading elements of productinn, distribution and consumption, through which he succeeded in mohilizing the forces of wealth and secured agreements between lahor and capital to maintain the status quo as far as possible in the interest of insuring the purchasing power of our people, thereby to lessen the shock of depression, avoid the breakdown of public buying, and guard against the disaster of class warfare from strikes and lockouts, and thus relieve as far as possible the suffering incident to an economic breakdown throughout the world.

Here in our own country we suffered the worst drought in our history which had extended into 22 states, a condition in which actual starvation faced many people unless relief would be provided.

For all this the thoughtless hlamed the government, and called upon the President to enter upon a system of relief through the dole Congress was hlamed because Europe did not huy more of our goods. The President was hlamed because the heavens refused to rain. Instead of conceding the wise leadership in this time of distress, carping criticism and belittling comment hecame daily pasttime of our opponents.

This generation will not likely fully appreciate the services of President Hoover in the part he has played in lessening the suffering during this period of world-wide depression.

At such times critics are many, and partisan criticism is bitter. All sorts of unsound nostrums and remedies are proposed, and passion and prejudice are appealed to for action.

The need of the hour is a leader with a vision tn comprehend the problem and the courage to withstand the organized clamor.

As was recently said, "We should be thankful that we have at the head of the nation a man who is the embodiment of all that is capahle, strong, patient, sympathetic; all that is protective, conservative, purposeful and beneficial." Such is President Hoover.

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building.

Washington, D. C.,
June 11, 1931.

FUTURE RELEASE.

"SEVENTY YEARS OF NATIONAL PROGRESS", excerpts from an address by Senator Simeon D. Fess, of Ohio, Chairman of the Republican National Committee, to be delivered at the Conference of Young Republicans, in the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., June 11, at 10:00 A. M., and is for RELEASE at that time.

The history of the progress of the United States is but the history of the Republican party. For its monuments one needs but look at the record covering the last seventy years -- a nation freed from the blight of traffic in human slaves, the preservation of an indissoluble union of sovereign states under one flag, where every citizen is equal under the law without regard to race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and where are found one hundred and twenty millions of the best housed, the best clothed, and the best fed people of the earth.

Through the system of protecting American high-paid labor against the lower paid labor of foreign countries we have established and maintained a purchasing power that enables the working man to establish a home and educate his family. Here are found four times the number of home-owners among our laboring population over all the home owners rich and poor or well-to-do in Great Britain.

Here in the United States forty billion dollars have been invested in homes in the pastten years. In these homes will be found conveniences listed as necessities, which in other countries are listed as luxuries and limited to the well-to-do. As a suggestion, here in the United States is found one automobile for every five of our population, while outside of the United States, in what is termed the advanced nations, the ratio is one automobile for every 216 of the population.

This is but one item among many others of general ownership of our people, including those who work.

An examination of the records of our savings banks and our loan associations will reveal a remarkable situation upon the number of our people with savings accounts, and the amount of their savings. The number runs into the millions and amounts go into the billions. During this period of world wide depression there have been substantial increases in the deposits.

The Republican party has ever stood for a sound financial structure in which

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Washington, D. C.
June 12, 1931

The following resolution introduced by Chester J. Hinton, of the Young Republican organization of Allen County, Indiana, was unanimously passed at the final business session of the Conference of Young Republicans, Friday, June 12:

This Conference, representing the Young Republicans of the United States, extends its thanks to the men of all parties who have co-operated with President Hoover in maintaining industry and high wages, avoiding labor disturbances, expanding public works, effecting economies, and relieving unemployment. As President Hoover labors for the welfare of all, without distinction of parties, sections, or classes, we be-speak for him the loyal support of all citizens.

We recognize the responsibility that comes upon new voters when they take up the work laid down by their predecessors. We rejoice in the opportunity to carry forward the never-ending service of the Republican party to the Nation. The unity and strength of our party are a rich heritage, gained by heavy trials and long experience in conducting the Government of the United States. With the enthusiasm and vitality of youth the Republican party undertakes fresh responsibilities. Proud of its historic achievements, and eager to participate in the still greater achievements of the future, we declare our devotion to the tried and proved principles of our party.

We cherish with grateful remembrance the fidelity of the Republican party to its first President, Abraham Lincoln, which sustained him and the Union in the darkest days of our national history. We pledge equal fidelity to President Hoover and the Union in these trying times of world depression. With Lincoln's patience and fortitude, the captain of our Ship of State maintains his unwearied vigil on the bridge. We call upon all citizens to give him their loyal support, in order that the passage through troubled waters may be speedy and safe. We have faith in our pilot. We have faith in our ship. We have faith in our destiny.

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building.

Washington, D. C.,
October 10, 1931.

FOR RELEASE TO MORNING PAPERS OF SUNDAY, OCTOBER 11TH.

"WHAT CAN YOUTH EXPECT FROM THE REPUBLICAN PARTY" will be the subject of an address by the Honorable Robert H. Lucas, Executive Director of the Republican National Committee over a network of the Columbia Broadcasting System in the National Student Federation's regular program at 4:30 P. M., Eastern Standard Time, Monday, October 12th.

Mr. Lucas will be introduced by Richard C. Dyas, editor of the "Young Republican", a publication of the National Capital Republican Club.

The following stations will be included in the hook-up:

STATION	LOCATION	STATION	LOCATION
WABC	New York City	WXYZ	Detroit, Mich.
W2XE	New York City (Short wave)	WBCM	Bay City, Mich.
WOKO	Albany, N. Y.	WSPD	Toledo, Ohio
WFBL	Syracuse, N. Y.	WLAP	Louisville, Ky
WGR	Buffalo, N. Y.	WDOD	Chattanooga, Tenn.
WEAN	Providence, R. I.	WDSU	New Orleans, La.
WDRC	Hartford, Conn.	WISN	Milwaukee, Wis.
WNAC	Boston, Mass.	WCCO	Minneapolis-St. Paul
WORC	Worcester, Mass.	KSCJ	Sioux City, Iowa
WIP-WFAN	Philadelphia, Pa.	KOIL	Council Bluffs, Iowa
WHP	Harrisburg, Pa.	WIBW	Topeka, Kans.
WJAS	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KFJF	Oklahoma City, Okla.
WLBW	Oil City, Pa.	KRLD	Dallas, Texas
WMAL	Washington, D. C.	WACO	Waco, Texas
WCAO	Baltimore, Md.	KOH	Reno, Nevada
WTAR	Norfolk, Va.	KVOR	Colorado Springs, Colo.
WDBJ	Roanoke, Va.	KVI	Tacoma, Washington
WWVA	Wheeling, W. Va.	KDYL	Salt Lake City, Utah

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building.

Washington, D. C.,
October 10, 1931.

FOR RELEASE TO MORNING PAPERS OF SUNDAY, OCTOBER 11TH.

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WFBL	Syracuse, N. Y.	WLAP	Louisville, Ky
WGR	Buffalo, N. Y.	WDOD	Chattanooga, Tenn.
WEAN	Providence, R. I.	WDSU	New Orleans, La.
WDRC	Hartford, Conn.	WISN	Milwaukee, Wis.
WNAC	Boston, Mass.	WCCO	Minneapolis-St. Paul
WORC	Worcester, Mass.	KSCJ	Sioux City, Iowa
WIP-WFAN	Philadelphia, Pa.	KOIL	Council Bluffs, Iowa
WHP	Harrisburg, Pa.	WIBW	Topeka, Kans.
WJAS	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KFJF	Oklahoma City, Okla.
WLBW	Oil City, Pa.	KRLD	Dallas, Texas
WMAL	Washington, D. C.	WACO	Waco, Texas
WCAO	Baltimore, Md.	KOH	Reno, Nevada
WTAR	Norfolk, Va.	KVOR	Colorado Springs, Colo.
WDBJ	Roanoke, Va.	KVI	Tacoma, Washington
WWVA	Wheeling, W. Va.	KDYL	Salt Lake City, Utah

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building.

Washington, D. C.,
October 12, 1931.

FOR RELEASE AT 4:30 P. M., Eastern Standard Time, MONDAY, OCTOBER 12th.

HONORABLE ROBERT H. LUCAS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE, TODAY DELIVERED THE FOLLOWING RADIO ADDRESS OVER A NATION-WIDE NETWORK OF THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM BEGINNING AT 4:30 P. M. EASTERN STANDARD TIME UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERATION:

To address the students of America at any time and upon any topic is always an honor and a rare privilege, and I have eagerly accepted the invitation of the National Student Federation to speak to you in answer to the question, "What Can Youth Expect From the Republican Party". The Federation is to be congratulated upon the splendid work it has undertaken in arousing the interest of the youth of the country in the political questions of the day. There was never a time when politics was so interesting as it is just now. Never has the science of government taxed the powers of the ablest intellects as at the present time. There was never a time when the intelligent understanding of the principles that underlie sound and orderly government was so essential as today. The students of America have a greater stake, a greater expectancy in our country than those of the older generation because they will survive and will confront increasingly difficult problems. It is of the highest importance, therefore, that through the study of the history of our government, grounding themselves thoroughly in the principles that underlie our political institutions, they should prepare themselves to think straight and to reach sound conclusions.

In this time of economic collapse throughout the world, resulting in a serious business depression and alarming unemployment in our own country, the Republican Administration is applying all the powers of government, all authority in law to restore prosperity. A Republican President is striving with all his might and mind and heart to protect the country and the people. The responsibility of government is on the Republican Party. And there is no desire to escape that responsibility. For the Republican policies of protective tariff, restricted immigration, encouragement of business and high wages, are far more essential to the welfare of the country at such a time than when world conditions are normal.

Leaders of the opposition criticize but offer no helpful suggestion. If they have one they do not offer it. And even in the great game of politics it is not fair dealing to keep a card up your sleeve when the

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REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Barr Building.

Washington, D. C.,
November 2, 1931.

IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Senator Simeon D. Fess, of Ohio, Chairman of the Republican National Committee today issued a call for a meeting of the Committee on TUESDAY, at 2:00 P. M., December 15th, in the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

Senator Fess' letter to the Committeemen and women follows:

"You are hereby notified that a meeting of the Republican National Committee will be held on Tuesday, December 15th, at 2:00 P. M., in the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C.

"As matters of great importance will come up for consideration, it is hoped that the entire membership may be present in person, or represented by proxy."

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New-York, Sept. 20, 1871.

HON. HORACE GREELEY,

DEAR SIR,

You have disputed the action of the State Committee in ordering the reorganization of the Republican party in this city, both by denying their power to make it and by denying its necessity. As incidental to the discussion you have argued that it is permissible for persons to be officers in Republican Associations and Committees and members of its Conventions, and, at the same time to hold offices under the pay and at the will of the Democratic party. I propose, as an active Republican to say a few words upon these matters, presenting them especially in the light of your own past teachings and records, assuming the utterances of the *Tribune* to be your utterances.

I propose to show *First*, that for a considerable time past, the holding of offices under Tammany Hall has been, and has been recognized by you to be a source of weakness to the Republican party. *Second*, That the Twenty-Second Street organization with which you have unfortunately identified yourself contains a large number of persons holding offices under Tammany Hall, by whom it is in fact controlled *Third*, That the State Committee not only had ample powers to order the reorganization whichthey did, but that it was their bounden duty so to do.

1. As to the injury done to the party in the past by the Tammany Republicans, your columns have for years exposed the evil in vigorous terms. Within the last two years you have spoken as follows:

On November 6, 1869, you said: "The Tammany Ring has bought and owns a number of our most active and prominent Republican managers, who will not leave us because they can better earn their wages by sticking to us."

JK 2359.N5,1900.

#41

CHAIRMEN.—Continued

... y Sta...	77 East 117th street.
...ard W. ...mer,	63 East 117th street.
...nos. O'Neil	1827 Madison Avenue.
... B. Murtha...	61 West 119th street.
A. Sherer,	260 Lenox avenue.
...th—Edgar V. Jacka,	101 West 121st street.
Warren A. Leon...d,	237 Lenox avenue.
...5th—Louis Gairing,	213 West 120th street.
Delancey W. Se...r,	215 West 121st street.
6th—James H. Pato...	271 West 122d street.
Wm. Lutkins,	253 West 123d street.
...th—Chas. B. Cloudsley,	244 West 124th street.
John J. Olliver,	235 West 124th street.
18th—Frank H. Hines,	104 West 124th street.
A. W. Cryan,	123 West 123d street.
19th—Wm. H. McDowell,	59 West 124th street.
John F. Veitch,	282 Lenox avenue.
Stephen Lane,	284 Lenox avenue.
20th—W. H. McDowell,	66 East 121st street.
Percey L. Davis,	72 East 121st street.
21st—J. M. Newman,	2,007 Fifth avenue.
22d—Geo. H. Rubland,	1,862 Park avanue.
Frank L. Hamilton,	13 East 127th street.
23d—Wm. A. Charles,	51 West 127th street.
Edw. Cox,	82 West 127th street.
24th—A. L. Westcott,	174 West 126th street.
Obed Norwood,	174 West 126th street.
25th—Geo. Fisher,	2,360 Eighth avenue.
Geo. H. Newsom,	263 West 125th street.
26th—Wm. F. Brewer,	2,382 Eighth avenue.
Geo. A. Martin,	2,173 Seventh avenue.
27th—James R. McAllister,	252 West 128th street.
Thomas J. Ellison,	162 West 120th street.
28th—Geo. Sloteman,	58 West 129th street.
Geo. Young,	14 West 128th street.
29th—Chas. H. Landon,	23 West 131st street.
Richard T. Ashman,	46 West 131st street.
...th—Douglass Tomkins,	131 West 130th street.
John B. Odell,	153 West 129th street.
John T. McNeill,	2,183 Seventh avenue.
...st—John Stieb,	2,204 Seventh avenue.
Harry Pantaenius,	2,426 Eighth avenue.
31—Samuel Cleland,	231 West 131st street.
...—Orlando Rockefeller,	252 West 133d street.
E. Demarest,	200 West 133d street.
34th—Daniel J. Wilson,	190 West 134th street.
John O. Kinney,	2,269 Seventh avenue.
35th—Peter J. Bogert.	32 West 133d street.
36th—Jno. G. McCowan,	12 West 134th street.
W. 1. Cheever,	476 Lenox avenua.

Notice your place of Registration. See map on page 2 and addresses on page 3.

T... vote you must register personally.

The Republican emblem is the Eagle flying over ballot ... Mark an **X** in circle under the Eagle for straight ...et. Use *only* a black lead pencil for such is the law. Get your friends to register and to vote.

Millard J. Bloomer, Publisher.

31ST ASSEMBLY DIST. 1900.
Headquarters "CAMP McKINLEY,"
125th st. and 7th ave., N. Y. city.

KEEP THIS

OCTOBER

S	M	T	W	T	F	S
	1	2	3	4	5 REGIST	6 RATION
7	8	9	10	11	**12**	**13**
14	15	16	17	18	**19**	**20**
21	22	23	24	25	26 DAY	27 S
28	29	30	31			

NOTICE DAYS OF REGISTRATION

NOVEMBER

		TUESDAY		1	2	3
4	5	ELECTION **6** DAY	7	8	9	10

Register before going to business. If you fail to register you cannot vote. Polls open 6 A.M. to 5 P.M.

REMEMBER THIS

Seats 3,000. Prominent speakers and music nightly. All welcome. Admission and printed program free.

Headquarters always open. Courteous answers given all inquiries.

PRESIDENT—HON. WM. L. STRONG.

1ST VICE-PRES.—C. F. HOMER.
2ND VICE-PRES.—FRANK BRAINARD.

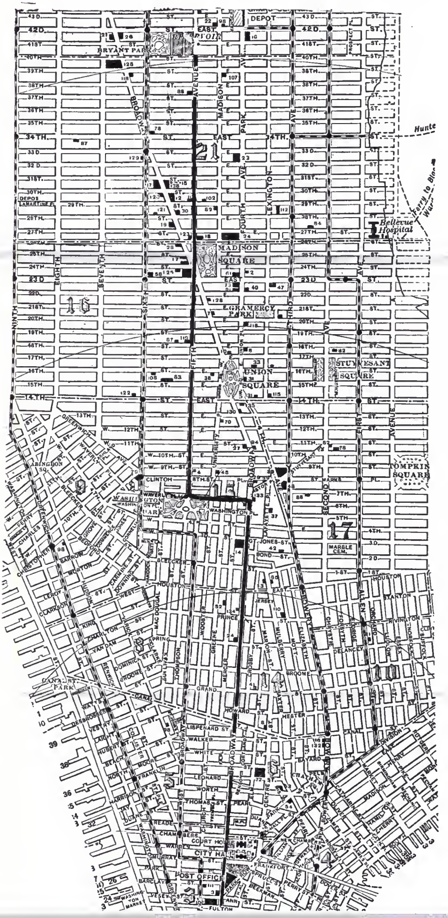
SEC'Y & TREAS.—E. A. DRAKE.
5 Pearl Street.

BUSINESS MEN'S REPUBLICAN & SOUND MONEY ASSOCIATION

GRAND MARSHAL'S HEADQUARTERS : 296 Broadway.

TELEPHONE No. 416 FRANKLIN.

GEN. ANSON G. McCOOK, Grand Marshal.
A. NOEL BLAKEMAN, Chief of Staff.
GEO. DEFOREST BARTON, Chief of Aides.
CHAS. CURIE, JR., Quartermaster.
GEN. N. W. DAY, Comd'g Rear Guard



The line of march is designated by the plain black line starting at Bowling Green, going up Broadway to Waverley Place through Waverley Place to Fifth Avenue and up Fifth Avenue to Fortieth Street.

JK2359
.P4 .1926.

#43

Republican party. Pennsylvania. Philadelphia.

Respect For Republicans

LC

Progressive Party Method to Secure Rule of the People

primaries.
ential primaries for candidates for the presidency.
election of United States senators.
y of the short ballot.
tive, Referendum and Recall.

Progressive Party Program to Secure Social and Industrial Justice

e supreme duty of the nation is the conservation of human es through an enlarged measure of social and industrial We pledge ourselves to work unceasingly in State and for:

rohibition of child labor.
Minimum wage for working women.
Prohibition of night work for women.
An eight hour day for women and young persons.
One day's rest in seven for all wage earners.
An eight hour day in continuous twenty-four hour industries.
Abolition of convict contract labor, except for governmental consumption, and the application of prisoners' earnings to the support of their dependent families.
Publicity as to wages, hours and conditions of labor.
Reports on industrial accidents and diseases.
Public inspection of all tallies, weights, measures, and all check systems on labor products.
Standards of compensation for death by industrial accident, injury and trade diseases.
Pensions for sickness, irregular employment and old age.
Establishment of continuation schools for industrial education under public control.
Establishment of industrial research laboratories.
Organization of the workers—men and women—as a means of protecting their interests and promoting their progress.
The establishment of a department of labor.
Prohibition of the issuance of injunctions when such injunctions would not apply when no labor disputes exist.
The right to trial by jury for contempt in labor disputes.
Minimum safety and health standards in industry.
Prevention of industrial accidents, of occupational diseases, overwork and involuntary unemployment.

Equal Suffrage

The Progressive Party, believing that no people can justly claim to be a true democracy which denies political rights on account of sex, pledges itself to the task of securing equal suffrage to men and women alike.

Write for information about plan of campaign to

FRANCES A. KELLOR
Hotel Manhattan, New York City

JANE ADDAMS
Hotel La Salle, Chicago, Ill.

National Committeemen

MAIL AND EXPRESS JOB PRINT
STODDARD-SUTHERLAND PRESS
9-15 MURRAY ST., NEW YORK
154

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To the Women Voters of the United States from the Women in Political Bondage

Vote the Progressive Ticket and Make Us Free

WE, the women of the Progressive party, appeal to you to vote for the candidates of the Progressive party, because we believe that through their election the Nation will secure most quickly those humanitarian measures, for which women in their clubs and associations and trade unions have worked for so many years.

In some States, such legislation has been partially secured; in many others it has utterly failed. Now, for the first time in the history of our country, a great party has assembled these measures and is urging a program of social and industrial legislation for which women have so long been striving.

The Progressive party is the only party that has pledged itself to work for suffrage, so that for the first time, the women of the six equal suffrage states have an opportunity to vote for candidates who are committed to extend suffrage to women throughout the Nation.

It is the only party that is instructing its candidates to make suffrage an issue in the campaign states.

It is the only party that has given women a voice in party organization and management and direct representation on National, State and County committees before they have the vote.

May we not depend upon the voting women, in a sense representing those women who are not yet enfranchised, to prove at the polls that American women have been genuine in their long endeavor for social righteousness? The disfranchised women therefore appeal to you for the direct help which you are able to give. They appeal to you for the rights of citizenship which you now enjoy, and as nobly as you have done for the overthrow of political corruption, to vote for the betterment of industrial conditions and the protection of the home.

SIGNED

Mrs. Isabella W. Blaney	California	M. Evelyn Fritzenger	Michigan
Josephine Roche	Colorado	Mrs. Celeste P. Armstrong	New York
Jane Addams	Illinois	Mrs. Anna C. Brown	New York
Mrs. Mary H. Wilmarth	Illinois	Mary E. Dreier	New York
Alice Carpenter	Massachusetts	Frances A. Kellor	New York
Mrs. Elizabeth S. Child	Massachusetts	Mrs. Bertha Elder	New York
Helen Temple Cook	Massachusetts	Clara B. Morrison	New York
Mrs. Grace A. Johnson	Massachusetts	Clara Shuler	New York
Mrs. Elizabeth Towne	Massachusetts	Hannah M. Povey	Oregon

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PROGRESSIVE BATTLE HYMNS

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**"For there is neither East nor West,
Border nor Breed nor Birth,
When two Strong men stand face to face,
Though they come from the ends of the earth."**
—Kipling

Photos Copyright MOFFAT, CHICAGO.

TEN CENTS

C. H. Congdon

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.1948

JK2388.1912

1

#47

A Contract With the People

PLATFORM

OF THE

Progressive Party

ADOPTED AT ITS

First National Convention

Chicago, August 7th, 1912

PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Forty-second Street Building, New York City

19 JK2388.1912.
#48

A Contract With the People

PLATFORM

OF THE

Progressive Party

ADOPTED AT ITS

First National Convention

Chicago, August 7th, 1912

If you want these things done ratify this contract on November 5, by casting your vote for Roosevelt and Johnson and the Progressive Party Candidates

PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Manhattan Hotel, New York City

JK 2388. 1916.

#49

THE PROGRESSIVE PARTY

ITS RECORD

From January to July, 1916

JK2389.M13.1915. #50

Progressive party - Maryland.

Declaration of Principles

UNANIMOUSLY

PAMPHLET COLLECTIONS

ADOPTED BY

Progressives of Maryland

In Convention Assembled

OCTOBER 5th, 1915

X-JK2391

Socialism

versus

Anarchism

By DANIEL DE LEON

Price, Ten Cents

PUBLISHED 1921 BY THE
National Executive Committee
Socialist Labor Party
45 ROSE STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

X-JK2391

The Ballot and the Class Struggle

By

DANIEL DE LEON

TEN CENTS

1935

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY

45 Rose St., New York City

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A57

MUNICIPAL PLATFORM of the AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

#51

A PROGRAM for NEW YORK CITY

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY
Campaign Headquarters-8th A. D., BRONX
3456 JEROME AVENUE
TEL. OL. 5-9737

State Campaign Headquarters
HOTEL CLARIDGE
44th Street and Broadway
New York City
Telephone: LOngacre 3-3906

ALEX ROSE, Campaign Director

"WE ARE GOING FORWARD TO BETTER DAYS"

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

X-JK2391
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REGISTER — ENROLL

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

Registration Days: October 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

N 8303
9-28-45
TCK

1945 DRIVE FOR REGISTRATION - ENROLL AMERICAN LABOR
October 8th TO 13th

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INSTRUCTIONS TO E.D. CAPTAINS, ASSISTANTS AND CANVASERS

AIM - To secure a maximum vote for candidates of the A.L.P., and especially to elect our A.L.P. Councilmanic Candidate Charles Belous. We must secure large registration and urge everyone to Enroll American Labor.

Sept. 26th To Oct. 3rd

Visit all enrolled A.L.P. voters and Club Members. Take up following:

A. Urge everyone to register early. Enroll A.L.P.

B. Ask all to join our club who are not members.

C. Ask them to Contribute to our financial drive.

D. Ask them to volunteer as Assistant Captains or Canvasers.

Oct. 1st To 13th

Visit every voter in your assigned district.

A. Leave A.L.P. leaflet on registration and urge A.L.P. enrollment.

B. Try to find out how they stand on A.L.P. Candidates. Keep a record on your lists (you will be given a list of voters) of how the voters stand.

+ for O'Dwyer voter

+ A for A.L.P. and Belous voter

— for opposition

Oct. 8th To 13th

Get out the registration.

A. E.D. Captains make arrangements for check up of registration.

B. Distribute A.L.P. Circular, giving place of registration. Urge A.L.P. enrollment.

C. Make special effort last three days to get out all voters, who haven't registered.

Make regular reports to the org. Committee of A.L.P.

Regular Meetings of E.D. Captains and Assistants from now through Election. (For check Back and Assignments) Every Friday - 9:30 P.M. to 10:30 P.M.

Org. Comm. Sunnyside Woodside Club A.L.P.

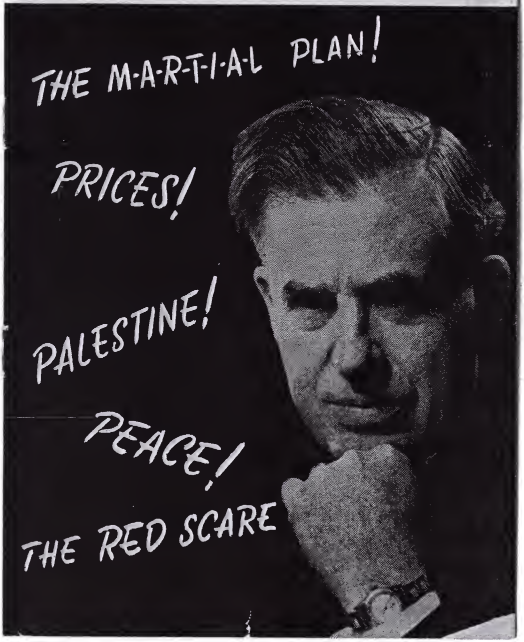
Nathan Solomon - Org. Dir.
Freda Skobel - Mem. Dir.
Miriam Flay

61-7562-2-1935

61-7559-6298
X-JK2391
.A57

HENRY WALLACE SPEAKS!

#54



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AN AMERICAN LABOR PARTY

An Interpretation

By

JAMES ONEAL

Editor "The New Leader"

Author "Workers in American History," etc.

Five Cents

RAND SCHOOL PRESS

7 East 15th Street New York, N. Y.

UNITY PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER 16---23, 1920

To the Membership of the U. C. P.:

In answer to oui letter to the C. E. C. of the C. P., in which we rejected the statement of memhership that they bad furnished to us as a hasis for proportional representation in a joint convention, because we knew that their membership statement was untrue, they gave us the following communication:

December 16, 1920.

To the Central Executive Committee,
United Communist Party of America.

Comrades:

Yonr letter of December 12tb, in which your committee definitely, categorically, and "unanimously" rejects the dues-paying memhership statement submitted by the Communist Party, can have but one meaning: THAT YOUR COMMITTEE REFUSES TO OBEY THE MANDATE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL TO ACHIEVE ORGANIC UNITY BY MEANS OF A JOINT CONVENTION BASED UPON PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

In order to discreetly hide your opposition to this mandate, your committee bas resorted to two methods, or rather "sharp practices"; viz., 1) an alleged analysis of our memhership figures submitted to you by our committee (including the official books of language federations); and, 2) an alleged "investigation on the ground," which your committee claims to have made.

Both the analysis of our membership report and the so-called investigation on the ground, hear on their face all the evidence of deceit and willful distortion, the clear intent of which is to screen your opposition to the basis of proportional representation at the unity convention UNLESS YOU ARE ASSURED OF A MAJORITY OF DELEGATES BEFOREHAND, which policy is in keeping with your expressed attitude during the whole process of negotiations.

Before dissecting and exposing your "analysis" of our figures and your "investigation" of our memhership, we shall quote again the decision of the Communist International in reference to the basis of the joint convention, as proposed by your own representative, Comrade John Reed, and modified by the Execntive Committee of the Communist International, which you submitted to our committee: "Representation at the Unity Convention shall be proportional and the basis shall he the number of dues-paying members for July, August, Septemher and October (originally by the 1st of September), according to the official books of botb parties."

The decision is explicit, and admits of no ambiguities, such as your committee has tried to read into it. Either you accept tbe "official books" of our party, or you do not. If you do not accept them as an honest record of the dues paid in our party during the months of July, August, September and October, your committee must bring PROOF and not mere assertions and vague charges, that the books have been falsified. Further, if your committee desired to verify our memhership figures hy any REAL INVESTIGATION, the only possible course would have been througb the co-operation of our party. WITHOUT THE CO-OPERATION OF OUR ORGANIZATION, as your pretended "investigation" was made, it is the sheerest fraud and imposition upon every member of the Communist movement in America, as well as upon the Communist International itself.

Your flippant and arrogant attitude towards unity of the Communist movement in America, as expressed in all your communications, and finally this last fraudulent and insincere attempt to waive aside the only real hasis upon which organic unity can be achieved — PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION — by such flimsy and entirely unsubstantiated charges as presented in your last letter, brands all your protestations for unity as mere camouflage.

Now, as to your "investigation on the ground." You claim: "We have made an investigation of your membership claims in each district. This shows that yonr report is utterly unreliahle, contains many discrepancies and contradictions and could not by any stretch of the imagination be considered as any proof whatever of your actual functioning membership."

Instead, in the paragraph next to the last, your committee states in the vaguest possible terms that: "the statements from our district and group organizers who are in closest touch with your membership are unanimous to the effect that you have only a fraction of tbe membership that you claim in the respective localities. We already have on hand sufficient evidence to prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that your membership claims are not in accordance with the facts, and that the bona fide undergronnd membership of the United Communist Party far outnumbers that of the C. P."

WE CHALLENGE YOUR COMMITTEE TO PRODUCE THE EVIDENCE.

As to the statements from your district and group organizers who are supposed to be in closest touch with our memhership and who are unanimous in their testimony, THIS EVIDENTLY IS THE EXTENT AND MANNER OF YOUR INVESTIGATION.

It is a piece of brazen trickstery to pretend that inquiry of your own officialdom as to the membership figures of a competitive underground party distinct and apart from your own, is a BONA FIDE INVESTIGATION.

There is not a particle of trnth in your statement that we count as members of the C. P. many members of social and legal organizations who are only nominally divided into groups and take no part in underground Communist activity. We challenge you to point out one single instance of it, to produce one iota of evidence for this one of the many bare assertions of yours.

Even the idea of an investigation could only have been justified if, in the examination of our books and records you would have found serious discrepancies, or evidences of frand or forgery. But you could find no such evidence. Your unsupported allegations and your false "analysis" of our dues-paying membership figures in [illegible] way affect the question.

[illegible] inclined to disregard the mandatory decisions of the Commnnist International, and its detailed decisions regarding the manner of achieving organic unity, we would have mucb more ground to demand an investigation of your membership figures, than you have of ours. It is a matter of common knowlcdge that your party has been constantly losing part of your membership ever since your convention. You have had defections in the States of Washington, in California, and Ohio, of the Scandinavian, German and Jewish Federations, and of a numher of Russian branches. Surely, this does not square with the glowing report of membersbip increase month by month as recorded in your statement,—unless and extraordinary amount of back-dues was paid for June and May still in September and October.

It is obvious that recent decreases or increases in the membership of any organization would not by any means be fully indicated in a statement of dues average for four months back previons to the last. The Communist International was perfectly aware of this wben making the decision.

But there is no way hy which these fluctuations could be definitely ascertained and proved up to the last day before the convention, and it would have been wrong for us to raise this point against your statement. We were ready to accept your statement, because it was in substantial agreement with your official books, and we could not find anything wrong with them without a lengthy and thorough investigation.

Certainly we had more reasons to doubt your figures than you have to doubt ours. Our federation organs each month carry a financial statement to tbe membership. This custom is one of long standing. If your committee had attempted to compute these statements and compare them with the analysis of the membership figures submitted by our secretary to our last convention, and published in our official organ, yon would have found that these figures mutually corroborate each other.

As to your "analisys" of our statement,—our statement shows dues actually paid for during the months of July, August, September and October, and that is the basis which the Executive Committee of the Communist International designated for the computation

UNITY PROCEEDINGS

To December 15, 1920

To the Membership of the United Communist Party

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Comrades:

As we reported to you some time ago, in response to a mandate from the Small Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, we agreed to enter a unity convention with the C. P. with representation for the two parties based upon an honest statement of *bona fide* underground membership. At a recent meeting of the unity committees we exchanged membership statements with the C. P. These statements showed the following claims of paid-up membership for the two parties:

	U. C. P.	*C. P.*
July	2,906	4,851
August	3,289	6,344
September	4,204	10,555
October	5,661	8,460
Average 4 months.....	4,001	7,552

In addition we claimed for Districts 11 and 12, which use their dues receipts locally, for wives in good standing who do not pay dues in the U. C. P., and for July, when a large percentage of our dues were still received at the old C. P. and C. L. P. rate, a total of 560 members for the U. C. P., making our grand average 4,561.

A few days later we received the following a letter from the C. P., approving our membership statement and accepting it as correct:

November 30, 1920.

To the Unity Committee of the
United Communist Party of America.

Comrades:

Having examined your official records we find the total of July, August, September and October dues shown on your statement; that is, $12,004.70, representing an average of 4,001 dues per month, is substantially correct.

As to the additions claimed by you: 1) 150 for membership in Districts 11 and 12, whose dues, you say, have been used for organization expenses in those districts themselves; 2) for married comrades, to whom one single stamp has been sold for both husband and wife; and 3) 260 for July dues paid at the old rates of 50c. for C. L. P. membership and 40c. for C. P.;—we think that the first and third items are a little too high. However, since there seems to be no method by which they could be definitely ascertained or disputed, and since the error must of itself be quite small, we are willing to allow the additions in full.

This brings the total average July, August, September and October dues paying membership of your party up to 4,561, and we are willing to accept these figures as the basis upon which to calculate the U. C. P. delegation to the Joint Convention, as soon as you have verified and accepted our membership report submitted to you on the 28th of November, and showing a total average July, August, September and October dues-paying membership of the Communist Party of 7,552.

We have submitted to you for examination and comparison all the official books and records of the Communist Party which you requested. You have examined and compared them, and you have not indicated any discrepancies between our records and the statement submitted by you.

It is up to you now to act on our statement.

The time for the joint convention is very short. Every day must be counted and used in the preliminary arrangements.

The joint call must be drawn up, approved by both Central Executive Committees, and sent out to the membership immediately. The time for the convention must be fixed, and the place found without delay.

We insist that your committee come to meet with our committee again within the next few days.

Let us know at once when you can come to the next meeting.

Fraternally,

Executive Secretary.
Communist Party of America.

Because of the past practices of the leaders of the C. P. federations we felt impelled to make a rather careful study of their membership claims before accepting them. We remembered the fact that certain Russian Federation leaders won control of the Detroit convention of the Russian federation through hand-picked delegates that represented a mythical membership having no existence in fact. We knew of the unrefuted claim of the Chicago District of the old C. P. that these federation executives "packed the Chicago convention through securing about twice the number of delegates representing their viewpoint as any membership basis gave authority for and through their caucus controlled the convention and thus pl[illegible] themselves [illegible] in control of the party." We know that at every point where their personal control was threatened these C. P. federation leaders used any and all tactics to maintain their power irrespective of delegates [illegible] membership.

Therefore we decided not to accept BLINDLY whatever these federation faction leaders might offer us, but to investigate and, if possible, prove their claims. Before entrusting the whole future of the Communist movement in this country to the tender care of the federation factionalists we determined to verify their figures.

Every member of the United Communist Party will recognize the wisdom of this course. We made a thorough analysis of their statement of membership and dues received, and inaugurated special investigations in every district to determine how far the C. P. membership claims in different localities are justified by the actual facts. As a matter of course, in the limited time at our disposal, no complete record could be made but enough could be learned to justify us in either accepting or rejecting the figures submitted by the C. P.

Our analysis reveals the C. P. statement as an utterly worthless document, which carries on its very face the proof of the impossibility of its correctness. It proves that dues for over 6,000 members were entered in October (after the news of unity instructions arrived here from Moscow),

Fourth Statement on Unity Proceedings.

January 5, 1921.

TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF C. P. of A.

Dear Comrades:—

The time limit set hy the Com. Intern. for the final accomplishment of unity is passed, hut unity is not accomplished.

The responsihility for this lies entirely upon the U. C. P.

They have refused and they still refuse to ahide by the decisions of the Com. Intern. providing for a joint unity convention on the hasis of proportional representation.

They have insisted and they still falsely insist that our statement of dues paying memhership for July, Aug., Sept. and Oct., showing an average of 7552, is fraudulent, and that their memhership, shown on their statement as 4611, is greater than ours.

They have proposed a joint unity convention on the basis of equal representation, saying that for unity's sake they were willing to make the "concession"; and they have tried to disregard the C. E. C. of the Communist Party,—to have us call our convention together separately too, so the two conventions could "negotiate", and to have us send out to our delegates individually a false and insolent statement of theirs.

Our answer to all these maneuvres and stratagems was always the same: "We insist upon compliance with the mandates of the Communist International providing for unity through a joint unity convention on the hasis of proportional representation determined hy the dues paying membership for July, August, Septemher and Octoher, according to the official books of hoth parties."—We demand that the U. C. P. comply with these mandates."

We submitted to the U. C. P. for examination all our hooks and statements; we wrote long letters and verhally proved to their Unity Committee in detail that our figures were correct, that their "analysis" of them was absurd, and that their "investigation on the ground" was a sham and a fraud. Still, in the face of all this, as a last resort, as the only excuse for evading compliance with the decisions of the Comm. Intern., for refusing to let the rightful majority of the Communist Movement in America fully to determine and control the future of the united party, the U. C. P. repeat again and again the lie that the C. E. statement is fraudulent.

In their letter of the 18th of Dec. they pretend to list proofs of their assertions.

Since it was very apparent that the figures and alleged proofs of discrepancies in our memhership statement were presented merely as a formality and an excuse, our C. E. C. did not deem it necessary to take them up in the answer to the U. C. P.

To our comrades, however, we want to tell very briefly that the figures in the U. C. P. letter are juggled again, miscalculated and misused, and that their "proofs" are either false or beside the point.

That our statement "purports to show that only 3048 paid dues in July", is **not true**; our statement plainly shows that in fact this figure represents the number of dues **received by our National Office** in July. 4835 dues reached the N. O. in August, and not 3867 as stated hy the U. C. P. 8240 old-rate dues reached N. O. in Octoher, and not 9373. The total numher of dues reaching N. O. in October is 9659, and 90 percent of them were paid hy the hranches in September, that is **before** the decision of the Com. Intern. on unity was received in this country.

The July, Aug., Sept. and Oct. average for the whole Lith. **subdistrict** "C." (not only one hranch) is 314. and not 358 as stated by the U. C. P.; and for the **subdistrict** "P" it is 306 not 390. This shows how much credence can he given to the U. C. P. statement, which they consider "proof" without any further evidence.

U. C. P. "gossip-mongers" have been going around in D. saying that our statement is claiming there 250 Russian members, while our average is only 75. The U. C. P. letter says that we are claiming 496 Ukr. memhers in D. while our average is only 387 for the **whole district**; the 128 Russ. in M. shows on our statement as only 105; the 149 Lith. in M., as only 75 for the **whole subdistrict** etc.

If the U. C. P. committee does not stop short of falsifying the figures taken from our statements, which we can check up plainly and indisputahly, you can imagine how truthful their statements of our "actual memhership" must be.

Further proof, conclusive and indisputable, that our statement was correct is now furnished hy the actual present membership figures represented in the recent district conventions of our Party. Taking into consideration the fact that within the last two months or so a number of our comrades have left for Russia, these figures absolutely substantiate the figures of our statement for July, August, Septemher and Octoher.

With this fact firmly estahlished, the communications that passed hetween the two parties forth and hack since our last statement of December 16, will plainly show that the U. C. P. was under a false pretext defying the decisions of the Com. Intern. and that the C. P. was insisting upon compliance with them, not merely on formal grounds. but hecause they were of the utmost importance for the future interests of the Communist Movement in America.

For the present the U. C. P. has frustrated all steps to unity; hut they will not be ahle to defy the Com. Intern. indefinitely. We have definite information that further instructions from the Com. Intern. will he received in the near future, and we are sure that the U. C. P. will have to change its false position, and will have to agree to a joint unity convention on the hasis of proportional representation.

C. E. C. of the U. C. P. to the C, E, C, of the C, P

December 18, 1920.

Comrades:—

Your letter of the 16th, which your unity committee gave to ours at the joint session tonight, has just heen considered hy us. Nothing in your communication explains away the fact that the memhership statement that you furnished us is manipulated and unworthy of acceptance.

You say that you had more reasons to douht the U. C. P. figures than we have to douht yours. If you douhted our memhership statement then it was your husiness to investigate it. The fact is that you know it to he correct, and that is why you accepted it. The U. C. P. memhership has grown from month to month, and it is much larger today than the average for which you have given us credit, and you KNOW it.

You attempt to hefuddle the issue with a dissertation upon the "indispensahle laws of arithmetic" and "the law of averages". The fact is that it is this very law of averages that indictes your figures.

Out of an alleged memhership of 7552 your statement purports to show that only 3048 paid dues in July. And this 3048 covers not only July dues, hut a portion of dues for an unknown numher of months hefore. It shows that 3867 paid dues in August, and again this 3867 covers not only August, but an unknown numher of months previously. Then you allege that in Octoher 9373 memhers, many more than in July and August comhined, paid their dues at the old 20 cent rate, not for Octoher, not even for Septemher, hut for some months BEFORE Septemher 1st. This would surely mean a violent rape of the "law of averages" that you quote.

We accept your challenge to "cite one single instance" of legal memhership in your party which does NOT function underground. One

NEWS LETTER SERVICE

National Office, Communist Party of America,
Section of the Communist International. August 4, 1922.

Rush one to each group at once

INTERNATIONAL

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has informed us that Com. Cook, member of the Praesidium of the Comintern and the Praesidium of the Red Trade Union International has been ordered to return home immediately with full instructions from the Communist International regarding the various problems confronting the American Party. All districts are strongly urged to hold themselves in complete readiness for immediate arrangement of meetings to listen to the report from the Comintern.

The Special Representative of the Comintern, Com. Brooks, is now working actively with the Central Executive Committee and is proving of great aid to us.

THE OPPOSITION

Reports from every district are very favorable regarding the return of opposition members to the party. We must not lose sight of the fact that it is the duty of every party member to do his utmost to help liquidate the opposition and get them back again into the party

CONVENTION

The Executive Committee of the Communist International has instructed us to postpone holding the convention until the arrival of Com. Cook with its instructions. The Central Executive Committee acted on this matter and by a vote of five to five decided not to delay holding the convention. All efforts are being exerted to have Com. Cook arrive here on time so thatat least the delegates may have an opportunity to listen to the report and instructions from the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

On the recommendation of Com. Brooks the Central Executive Committee elected the following new special committees: (1) A committee to prepare a report on the prevailing political and economic conditions in the United States. (2) A committee to prepare a new theses on the relations between one and two. (3) A committee to revise the present agenda for the convention.

THE PARTY SITUATION

After listening to the Central Executive Committee discussion on the postponement of the convention, Com. Brooks, Special Representative of the Comintern to the Communist Party of America, proposed the following resolution to the C.E.C.: "The theses adopted by the Third World Congress on the subject of organization explicitly prohibited the formation of closed factions within Communist Parties. I have ascertained here in America that two existing tendencies in the Communist Party have already crystallized into definite factional structures which are waging against each other war to the knife on questions big or small. I am convinced that the actually existing differences of opinion do not by any means justify such factional formations and merely represent the continuation of the worst traditions within the ranks of the American comrades, traditions which were repeatedly condemned by the Communist International. I am convinced that this situation can lead to complete paralysis of the party's activity and to new splits, fatal to American Communism.

Basing myself on the above mentioned Theses of the Third Congress and acting in the spirit of all the decisions of the Communist International bearing on the American question, I call on the comrades of both factions immediately to take proper steps for the liquidation of the factional regime and to create real guarantees for party unity which is so extremely endangered. For this work I am entirely at your disposal.

(Signed) Brooks, Special Representative of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

61-4413-536

61-1307-2-4   CS #60

CALL FOR THE SECOND NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE C.P. of A. FORMED AT THE JOINT UNITY CONVENTION OF THE C.P. AND UCP, ISSUED BY THE CEC.

Communist Party History

Comrades -

With the publication of this CALL, the party must begin preparations for its coming NATIONAL CONVENTION. This will be the Second Annual Convention of the Amer. Sec. of the Communist International. The Joint Unity Convention of a year ago, at which a single party was formed, is considered as the first convention. The critical importance of this convention lies in its great responsibility as the supreme authority ofthe only party representing in this country the CI.

Many and farm reaching changes have occurred in our movement, within this comparitively short interval of time. Under the guidance of the CI, the CEC of our party has taken a number of important steps towards bringing us in close and effective contact with the working class and its mass organizations. For the first time since the inception of our movement, the CPof A has made a determined advance toward becoming a living factor in the class struggle. This fact is reflected in the Agenda for our coming convention.

The CP working under unlegalized conditions cannot have recourse to the democratic referendum among all the members of the party, but on the contrary it empowers its leading central organ, the CEC, to make important decisions in emergencies on behalf of all members of the party. During the past year such a necessity arose. In the coming Natl. Con., the rank and file through its delegates, will pass finally upon the manner and form which the CEC has carried out certain extremely important mandates of the Third Congress and Executive Committee of the CI. Especial and extraordinary efforts must therefore be made to assure that this convention shall be a full expression of the opinion of the rank and file.

Where, for any reason, the good standing of any party unit has been lost or made questionable, but where such unit wishes now to return, its loyalty to the party and to the CI and its submission to the authority of the CEC of the party, such unit will be allowed full participation in the coming party convention election.

Chief among the problems to be solved by this convention, will be the question of extending the activities of our party still further into the politically backward and passive masses of the working class in America. Our first attempt to overcome the barriers between us and the laboring masses, set up by the Capitalist State by driving our party underground, was successful. But the means which we have created for breaking our isolation, is not yet in proper shape, and our party thru this convention must further develop the art of directing this organ to the best interests of the Communist Movement. It will therefore be one of the main tasks of this coming convention, to give the party such a policy as to enable it to deal successfully with the various complicated problems of tactics and organization arising out of this particular phas of our party's work.

This, however, will dispose only of a part of the general problems of bringing our party into close and intimate relations with the vital realities of the class struggle. The general problem itself is by a serieas of strategic actions to place our party in such a position with respect to the reactionary labor leaders and social patriots as wil make every effort of ours count against them in an immediate and practical sense.

It is in this light that the convention will have to consider and act upon the policy of the united front, advanced by the EC of CI.

Another important subject that will claim the attention of the convention, will be to stimulate the work of our industrial nuclei and to fix their method of control of our legal organs. The recent extensions of our activit...

... UPON THE POLICY OF THE UNITED ~~EFFORT~~ FRONT, ADVANCE BY THE E.C. OF THE C.I.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT SUBJECT THAT WILL CLAIM THE ATTENTION OF THE CONVENTION WILL BE TO FIX THEIR METHOD OF CONTROL OF OUR LEGAL ~~EFFORT~~/ ORGANS. THE RECENT EXTENSIONS OF OUR ACTIVITIES ON THE INDUSTRIAL FIELD HAVE CREATED A NUMBER OF NEW PROBLEMS...

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Special Bulletin

ON PARTY SITUATION

ISSUED BY THE

Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America

Section of the Communist International

For circulation among members of C. P. of A. ONLY, (both Majority and Minority)

Every member whether in regular organization or in the opposition should receive a copy.

NEW YORK, MAY, 1922

The Issue Between the "Minority" and the Party

The Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of America has heen informed that the leaders of the socalled "Minority" faction have just held a national conference, and have voted NOT to obey the instructions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Thus the climax in the long drawn out struggle within the Communist movement in America has now been reached. The points at issue have already been decided by the highest court of appeals. The Executive Committee of the Communist International has made its final decision. It is clear and unmistakeable. It is in fact an ultimatum. Every member MUST OBEY WITHIN THE TIME LIMIT, or stand expelled from the Communist Party of America and the Third International.

JUNE 25.

On or before Sunday June 25, 1922, every member of the Minority faction will have to make this momentous decision. He will have to decide between loyalty to a faction outside the C. I., or loyalty to the Communist International. There is now no other alternative. It is one or the other. Obey or get out.

This is a most serious matter for every minority member. Expulsion from the Third International means that such member will not be accepted for membership hy the Communist Party of Russia or any other country. It means severing connections with the whole world's revolutionary movement. It means to be looked upon as an enemy by the Communist hosts of all lands.

If a member disagrees fundamentally with the Communist International, he should of course leave the Party. But every REAL COMMUNIST should remain within the Communist International, no matter what minor disagreements he may have with its policies or tactics.

To enahle every member to decide intelligently for himself what his duty is in regard to this matter, we submit herewith the The Thesis of the Communist International "Concerning the Next Tasks of the C. P. of A." This Thesis was adopted hy the Executive of the C. I. when it learned of the opposition in the C. P. of A. to the formation of a legal Party. It was prepared by Kuusinen, Radek and Bucharin. It not only gives instructions for the guidance of the American movement, but explains the principles and reasons for these instructions.

Let every minority member study this Thesis, and the following decisions of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, thoroughly. Only then can he decide intelligently whether to ohey the decisions of the Communist International or be expelled.

CONCERNING THE NEXT TASKS OF THE C. P. of A.
(A Thesis by the E. C. of C. I.)

I. Main Aspects of Strategy.

In its earlier stages, the Communist movement usually lacks the hroad directing viewpoint from which can be found the guide-posts for its various steps. Inexperienced Communists, for example, attack imperialism only in general, in its universal aspect, without exact information and minute attention to the unique manifestations of imperialism within the given country. They do not in any way direct their attacks for the purpose of playing up against each other the antagonistic interests of various imperialistic groups. Also, the representatives of false tendencies in the Labor movement, they attack in general terms, with indiscriminate battle cries having perhaps the desired application to some, hut having in regard to others perhaps the exact opposite of the desired result. In a word, they strike around with their eyes closed against all opponents of Communism in the same manner as against all opponents of their own narrow Communist groups. They fight as a little sect fights, against the entire outer world.

Such primitive methods of hattle, even when combined with the greatest zeal and heroism, are not dangerous to the enemies of Communism.

The Communists begin to be effective in the political struggle only when they adopt concrete strategic aims for their movement, based upon a thoro examination of the facts. With a determined, purposeful drive to these aims, with the suhjection of every phase of our movement to this principle, our movement begins to be effective.

In order to assist the American comrade in working out and formulating their line of action, the Executive Committee of the Communist International proposes for their examination, the following main points:—

1. As the greatest force opposing the proletarian world revolution appears at the present moment to be the counter-revolutionary world alliance of American,

....

2. Soviet Russia, as the mainspring of the international revolutionary movement of the proletariat, must he supported in every way. It must be supported with economic help thru the self-sacrifice of the workers of all countries. ....

....

3. The prerequisite of victory for the working class is that the working class unite itself for the class struggle. To hring about this unification, isolated actions participated in solely hy Communists will not suffice. It is necessary to bring about common mass action of workers who are not yet Communists. For this purpose the Communists must penetrate the working masses to the utmost, must work together

61-7559-2-1827

One to Each Branch

February 23, 1923.

C A L L

FOR THE THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

#62

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COPY

Dear Comrades:-

Since the last Party Convention, conditions in the country have undergone changes which call for revision of the decision adopted at our last Convention on the question of an Open Party.

The CI, confirming the judgment of the CEC that an Open Party is possible at the present time, specifically instructs the CEC to proceed with transforming the LPP into an open, Communist Party, as soon as possible, preparing at the same time, a strong Apparatus to enable the Party to meet emergency situations and to carry on the necessary underground activities.

The CEC feels itself bound by the last Convention to refer the instructions of the CI on the Open Party to the Party Convention, which is called for this purpose.

AGENDA

The Agenda of the Convention will consist of --

1) REPORT OF CEC
2) THE QUESTION OF THE OPEN PARTY

Resolution of the CEC on the Open Party

The CEC proposes for the consideration of the membership, and for adoption at the coming Convention, the following resolution on the Open Party:-

"In view of the Statement of the CI and the reply of the CEC, the Convention declares:--

(1) That the LPP become the American Section of the CI from now on.
(2) That the LPP must build a strong Apparatus to serve as an emergency, safety measure for defense of the whole LPP organization.
(3) That the LPP be so elastically organized thatx when the political situation in the country makes impossible the continuance of an open existence, it shall forthwith be prepared to function underground.
(4) The underground Apparatus shall be organized of the best elements of the C.P.
(5) The Convention fully empowers the CEC to carry out these decisions in the spirit and letter of the CI instructions."

Representation

Elections are to begin in the Branches. Each Branch shall elect delegates to the City Convention. The City Convention shall elect delegates to the District Convention. The District Convention shall elect delegates to the National Convention.

The question of representation to the City and District Conventions is to be decided by the DEC of each District in accordance with local conditions. Delegates to the

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One to Each Branch — February 23, 1923.

#63

C A L L

FOR THE THIRD NATIONAL CONVENTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA

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1923

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THE PRESENT SITUATION AND IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE PART

The following resolution was unanimously adopted by the Parity Commission for submission to the National Convention of the Workers (Communist) Party.

#64

PUBLICATION FILE

1. THE WORLD SITUATION

Despite the assertions of the capitalists and their agents in the labor movement (the leaders of the Second International and the right wing of the Amsterdam International) that capitalism has emerged from its critical stage and has succeeded in stabilizing itself, the WORLD SITUATION CONTINUES TO REMAIN REVOLUTIONARY. This imposes upon the Communist parties of the world the duty of educating and organizing the working class for a struggle for power and for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The capitalists have been seeking for some means of avoiding the consequences of the inner contradictions of capitalism which threatens its destruction. The world war was a logical climax of these contradictions. The end of the war left capitalism economically weakened, yet with all the contradictions and conflicting interests apparent in sharpened form, threatening a new catastrophe and complete breakdown of the capitalist system.

The analysis of the world situation given by the last plenum of the E.C.C.I. has proven to be absolutely correct. The so-called stabilization of capitalism is in reality very temporary, partial, and relative in its nature. World production in the capitalist countries of Europe during the first half of 1925 is still below the pre war level and is continuing on a down grade. At the same time the political struggles in capitalist Europe are continually growing in intensity. New political crises are appearing almost daily. White terror in Bulgaria, the election of Hindenburg, the change of government in France, etc.etc. are merely the result of the continuing instability of capitalism and the sharpening of the class struggle.

2. History proves, however, with increasing certainty , that the problems of capitalism in the imperialist era cannot be solved by the capitalists. The temporary adjustment of the conflict over German reparations thru the Dawes plan and the temporary and partial stabilization of the capitalist economic order in Europe had no sooner been accomplished than the imperialist conflict broke out in a new form in the struggle of the suppressed peoples of Morocco and China to free themselves from the exploitation and political domination of the great imperialist powers.

3. The war in Morocco and the struggle in China emphasize the instability of the capitalist social order. They are the outcome of conflicting interests which characterize the imperialist era of capitalism. The people of Morocco and China are fighting against imperialist exploitation,without which capitalism cannot exist in the present period of its development. Capitalism must have investment opportunities which exist in the spheres of influence of undeveloped countries and it must have the raw materials of these countries. The struggle for these between the imperialist powers and the struggle against exploitation and oppression by the suppressed peoples of these countries are the sparks which light the powdered magazine of capitalism, resulting in the explosion which brings the destruction of millions of lives and billions of wealth as in the world war, and the consequent reduction in production and the standard of life of the workers.

4. The present world situation of capitalism again proves that the only force which can avert the menace of new wars is the working class. It is only thru a victorious revolutionary struggle against the imperialist capitalist governments that the working class can escape from the suffering which the imperialist era of capitalism brings upon it.

5. In contrast to this situation in the capitalist world, stands the Soviet Union. In spite of all the attacks of international capitalism made in an effort to destroy the Soviet government and prevent the creation of a new social order, the creation of that

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APPEAL TO THE COMINTERN

on the last Comintern Address and the expulsion and removals now taking place in the Party.

Statement by the delegation chosen by the Sixth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America to present the views of the Party Convention to the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

Submitted by Benj. Gitlow, Jay Lovestone, William Miller, Tom Myerscough, Edward Welsh, Wm. J. White, Bertram D. Wolfe.

On May 14, 1929, the delegation to the Comintern, elected by the Sixth National Convention of the Communist Party of the United States of America, submitted the following declaration to the presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

TO THE AMERICAN COMMISSION:

Dear Comrades:

I.

The American Party under its present leadership has an unquestionable record of unbroken loyalty and devotion to the Communist International. When we were a minority, we conducted an equally vigorous struggle for the Communist International and against all its hidden and open enemies within the Party.

It is the present leadership of the Party which has worked unceasingly since the very inception of our Party, ten years ago, to enhance the prestige of the Comintern not alone among the Party masses but also in the ranks of the proletariat in general. It is the present leadership of the Party which has, in the face of the bitterest resistance from the Opposition led by Comrades Foster and Bittleman, fought and driven out such notorious enemies of the Communist International as Lore, Salutsky, Sulkhanen, Askeli, Eastman and Cannon.

This attitude and policy of unswerving loyalty to the Comintern have been and will continue to be for us basic and axiomatic.

To us loyalty to the Comintern has never been merely a matter of formal discipline or factional expediency. Our attitude to the Comintern takes sole root in our firm Leninist conviction that the Communist International represents the collective, centralized Communist will, based on the experiences, capacities and composite qualities of what is best in all sections, in the various Parties. The Communist International is the world Communist Party, with every one of its sections an organic part.

II.

Even the new draft resolution recognizes that the Sixth National Convention of our Party "was composed of the best proletarian elements of the American Communist Party, who uphold the line of the Communist International."

It is by the express authority of this convention that we speak here in the name of the overwhelming majority of the membership, in the name of the best and most experienced Communist forces, in the name of the most tried party cadres in the United States. *The official delegation of this convention representing the will and desires of this convention, takes this occasion again to declare emphatically that we unreservedly support the line of the VI. World Congress of the*

creased its influence among the native workers. The furriers' and garment workers' strikes, the miners' strike, the textile workers' strike in New Bedford and Fall River and the silk strike in Paterson—such is the series of battles in which *the Workers (Communist) Party of America has for the first time appeared in the role of a Party of political action capable of linking up the economic struggle of the proletariat with its political aims.*

"The struggle for the organization of new unions which the Party had to carry on under circumstances of fierce terrorism on the part of the State apparatus, the murderous bands of powerful trusts, the yellow American Federation of Labor and the most stubborn resistance of the Socialist Party, *is one of the best pages in the history of the work of the Party during the last year.*

"However, the Party is now just making its first step on the new path. It is now just on the threshold between the old and the new. It has not yet passed the turning point. It has as yet done little to shift its base from the immigrants to the native Americans employed in the basic industries. It has done still less in relation to the millions of the Negro proletariat."

Nothing has happened since the Sixth World Congress, nothing has occurred since the convention has received the EKKI's Open Letter to warrant any fundamental change in the estimate of our Party, its achievements and its leadership. Quite the contrary. Since the Sixth National Convention our Party has only further proven that the Sixth World Congress was correct in its line toward us—the campaign led by our Party in the Southern textile struggles, the mass May Day street demonstrations, the great headway made in proletarianizing our Party leadership, the substantial gains made in the establishment of factory nuclei and shop papers.

IV.

There are valid reasons for our being unable to accept this new draft letter, to assume responsibility before the Party membership for the execution of this letter, to endorse the inevitable, irreparable damage that the line of this new draft letter is bound to bring to our Party.

(1) It will serve only to intensify and perpetuate the most destructive factionalism by giving the opposition a platform against the Central Committee and the Party membership. This was already borne out in Comrade Foster's estimate of the new draft letter at the last session of the commission.

(2) It will tend to undermine very seriously before

3. Comrade Foster was politically responsible for the reconstruction of the Opposition Block because without his consent and participation the formation of the Bloc would have been impossible. He consented and participated in the formation of the Bloc, although, according to his own statement in the Secretariat in the presence of the ECCI representatives, he has always disagreed with the Bloc on:

1. The estimation of the Central Committee as right; 2. On the reservations to the Comintern decisions; 3. on the question of reformism. This means that Comrade Foster joined and headed the Opposition Bloc for struggle against the Central Committee on a platform with which he disagreed. He used the very points of the Opposition Bloc and Cannon's platform with which he disagreed as a basis for this factional assault against the Central Committee. Therefore, his disagreement with the Opposition Bloc cannot be taken as a sign of Foster's lesser factionalism, but must rather be taken as a proof of his greater unprincipledness. The decision should clearly point this out.

4. Robbed of its platform by decisions of the highest authority of our World Party, the World Congress, the Opposition refused to accept these decisions, retained its repudiated platform and continued its condemned factional fight in open defiance of the Communist International. The decision should point this out.

5. Aside from its defiance of the decision of the Sixth World Congress, the Opposition used for mobilization in its factional struggle, an alleged encouragement for such a struggle by Comrade Stalin. The decision should repudiate and condemn this.

The present project of a decision is built around a most severe and in the main unwarranted condemnation of the Central Committee for errors committed by it in meeting the factional onslaught of the Opposition Bloc. But the deliberate defiance of the Sixth World Congress decisions by the Opposition which has been primarily responsible for the fight, is not even mentioned. The Opposition bloc is not taken to task for its persistent refusal to live up to the fundamental tenet of a Communist Party: unconditional subordination of the minority to the majority. But the Central Committee is taken to task most severely for errors committed in dealing with this insubordinate minority.

roots or influence in the Party or among the working masses.

VI.

Were we to adopt any other attitude to the new draft letter, were we to pursue any other course, the Party membership would rightfully and sternly repudiate such action.

We cannot convince the membership that the Party leadership whose main line the Comintern has repeatedly endorsed—a leadership which had led the Party in numerous mass struggles—has suddenly (since March 1, 1929), become corrupt, unprincipled right opportunist, rotten diplomats, reformist, and petty-bourgeois politicians.

Our acceptance of this draft letter would only promote demoralization, disintegration and chaos in the Party. This is the only logical outcome of the line of *the draft letter which puts forward as the standard bearers of the Comintern in the U. S., precisely those comrades from whose factional ranks have come the worst incurable right wingers, the renegades and enemies of the Comintern in America,* whose ranks consist of all those who have opposed, fought and sabotaged every Comintern decision for our Party to date—WHO SEE IN THIS DRAFT LETTER THE COMPLETE JUSTIFICATION OF THEIR STRUGGLES AGAINST ALL THE PREVIOUS DECISIONS OF THE COMINTERN; in whose ranks are found the worst discredited elements that haven't the slightest standing in the Party ranks or the least influence among the non-Party proletarian masses—careerist elements that shift their position whenever they see opportunities for personal advancement.

VII.

We have made every effort to convince the American Commission that what is needed is a calm, careful consideration of the serious difficulties and problems confronting our Party, with a view of arriving at an understanding in Moscow among all American comrades for utilizing all forces for the Party. So far we have failed in our efforts.

We stand ready and are anxious to make every effort to achieve these ends—to secure Party unity, to wipe out factionalism and caucuses, to sharpen the fight against the right danger, to build a powerful, organic section of the Comintern in the U. S.—equal to the tremendous historical tasks that confront a Communist Party in the country of the dominant imperialism.

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THE Ford Worker

Founded March 1926

ISSUED by THE FORD SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY of U.S.A.

Vol. 7 No. 4 DETROIT, MICH., APRIL 20, 1932 Price One Cent

CLOSE RANKS ON MAY DAY!

Sunday, May 1st, is the International Labor Day. This day was set aside by the National Labor Union of U. S. in 1866 as the worker's holiday. It was adopted that same year by the unions of Europe. Since that time May Day has been celebrated by workers all over the world as the International Labor Day.

This year May Day assumes extraordinary importance.

Twelve million American workers are without jobs.

Those who still work are on part time with slashed wages.

War is raging in China and Japanese troops are massed on Soviet borders.

Cry for bread and relief is being answered by bullets.

Billions are spent for war preparations and nothing for relief.

Innocent Negro workers are being lynched by the bosses.

Mooney is in jail 16 years and everyone knows he is innocent.

This country is being controlled and run by the Wall Street millionaires in about the same way that Ford runs the River Rouge Plant and his city of Dearborn.

On this May Day the workers must get together for a supreme show of strength against all these deadly evils of capitalism.

On May Day the workers all get together to pledge to fight wage cuts, hunger, war, terror and the bosses.

MAY DAY IN DETROIT

The United Front May Day Conference representing hundreds of workers organizations has organized a huge May Day Parade in which scores of thousands will march in formation from Ferry and Russell, downtown to Grand Circus Park. The great May Day Parade starts about 1 p. m. and is due at Grand Circus Park about 2:30 p. m.

At 10:30 in the morning the workers will be down at the Woodmere Cemetery to decorate the graves of the four Massacred victims and pay their honor and tribute to the fallen dead. At 7 p. m. the huge Arena Gardens will be packed again as on March 12. The workers organizations are re-enacting the Ford Hunger March, the Ford Massacre and the greast Mass Funeral. At least 500 will participate in the Pageant. There will be a prominent speaker, singing and music.

AFTER THE MASSACRE

From all over the world, the effect of the hunger march and the massacre of our comrades was most disastrous for the Ford Motor Company and for Capitalism in general.

From Rome, Italy, comes the information sent by an ex-Ford worker that the assembly plant and exhibition of the sales room of the Ford Motor Company there was wrecked by the angry workers upon receipt of the news of the Ford Massacre on Bloody Monday. The police and fascist militia taken by surprise were powerless in front of the workers.

* * *

From Germany we hear of huge demonstrations against the Ford Motor Company. The sales of cars has dropped to almost nothing.

* * *

In South America the demonstrations were numerous and very effective.

* * *

In Cuba the workers under the leadership of the Communist Party invaded the radio broadcasting station at La Habana and held it for five hours, while broadcasting all over the country a full revolutionary program.

Here below we publish a letter to the Ford Workers from the Workers of Cuba.

National Workers Confederation of Cuba

Executive Committee, Revillagigedo, No. 8. Upstairs, Workers Center, Havana, Cuba.

Mar. 14, 1932.

To the Workers of the Ford Factories, Detroit, U. S. A.

Dear Comrades:

The National Workers Confederation of Cuba, the class struggle trade union organization of Cuba, sends you in the name of the working class of this country this message of solidarity with the struggle which you have been carrying on against the exploitation and rationalization taking place in the Ford factory, and on behalf of the thousands of unemployed workers whom Ford has thrown out of his factory to suffer misery and starvation.

The National Workers Confederation of Cuba demands the punishment of Ford for having ordered the assassination of several workers, and also that all the militant workers jailed for this struggle be freed, as well as the 8 young Negro boys of Scottsboro, Mooney and Billings, and the hundreds of other proletarian fighters who are suffering in the jails of the U. S.

The struggle of the American workers against Ford, Bethlehem Steel, Sinclair and other capitalist bandits is a part of the same struggle which we are carrying on against the imperialists, like Chadbourne in the sugar industry, Houston in Tobacco, Steinhart in street railways and other sharks in the service of Yankee finance capital.

The working class of Cuba continues its fight bravely in spite of the butcher Machado, agent of Wall street. Long live the solidarity of the Proletariat of the United States, and the oppressed peoples of Latin America in their common struggle against Yankee imperialism!

For the punishment of the assassin Ford!

Demand freedom for the working class prisoners in Detroit, for the victims of Scottsboro, for Mooney and Billings, and for the hundreds of

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MONTHLY HANDBOOK FOR FUNCTIONARIES

COMMUNIST PARTY OF USA

DISTRICT 13

July 1934

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#68

Monthly Handbook for Functionaries

COMMUNIST·PARTY·OF U.S.A.

DISTRICT #13

APRIL 1934 CALENDAR OF ACTIVITIES

I. SIGNATURE COLLECTIONS
II. MAY FIRST
III. C.W.A. LAY OFFS
IV. SCHOOLS
V. MAY SIXTH

ORGANIZATIONAL CHECK - UP

I. RECRUITING AND DUES
II. ASSESSMENTS FOR THE GERMAN PARTY
III. YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE
IV. C&AWIU DISTRICT CONVENTION
V. CONFERENCES AGAINST ANTI-PICKETING ORDINANCES

ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS

I. RESOLUTION ON THE NEXT TASKS

THE BLACK PAGE

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COMMUNIST PARTY

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

SECTION OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

SEP 19 1978

OFFICIAL ORGAN "DAILY WORKER"

CENTRAL OFFICE

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

MAIL ADDRESS { P. O. Box 87, Station D.
NEW YORK CITY

October, 1934

Dear Comrade;-

The Central Committee of the Party addresses this letter to you personally, in the hope that you will read it most carefully and help solve one of the most burning problems confronting the Party at the present time; a problem which will largely determine the ability of the Party to stand at the head of the rapidly developing economic and political struggles of the masses; the problem of the growth of the Party membership.

The problem of the growth of the Party is concerned with both the numerical growth of the Party and the quality of the Party membership; that is, to strengthen the Party, in the first place among the workers in the large factories and trade unions in the basic industries of steel, mining, marine, railroad, auto, textile, etc. Closely connected with the growth of the Party membership and the quality of this membership is the problem of the tremendous fluctuation (turnover) of the Party membership.

Let us consider some important facts. For many years, including the first years of the crisis, the membership of our Party stood around the figure of ten thousand. Finally, through serious effort, we more than doubled our membership in the last two years; so that at the time of the last convention we had close to 25,000 members in good standing. THE CONVENTION DECIDED THAT WE SET THE GOAL OF 40,000 MEMBERS IN GOOD STANDING BY THE END OF THE YEAR. It is now more than five months since the convention. What is the situation? It is indeed most serious. Our membership today, as far as dues payments go, (and for the present it is the most reliable measurement we have) is even a little less than at the time of the convention. IT IS CLEAR THAT AT THIS RATE WE SHALL NOT REACH THE GOAL SET BY THE CONVENTION. On the contrary, unless the course is changed, we face the danger of further decline. Surely you will agree with us that here we have a problem which must receive the attention of every Party leading committee and of EVERY PARTY MEMBER.

To what can we attribute this decline; the failure to move ahead towards the goal set by the convention? Can it be a result of the lessening of the interest of the masses in Communism? Can it be the result of less favorable conditions for our work than in the past? Not much argument is necessary on these questions. We are sure that without a moment's hesitation you will agree with us, even on the basis of your own experience, that the masses are more receptive to our message than ever before; that the conditions for the growth of the Party have more than multiplied. All we need is but think of the great and heroic strike struggles of the last period, strikes like the recent textile strike of half a million workers, the historic General Strike in San Francisco, the Toledo, Minneapolis and Milwaukee struggles, to come to the conclusion that never were the masses so ready for our message as today, never were the conditions for our work more favorable.

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Congressional Election Platform of the Communist Party

For a United Working Class with the Communist Party! Against the Capitalist Class and their Parties!

In the Congressional elections, Tuesday, November 6, the Communist Party, the Party of the working class, represents the immediate needs and the emancipation of the workers, the poor farmers, the Negro people, and the impoverished middle class from the miseries of a bankrupt capitalist system.

For five years, the nation has been in the throes of a terrible crisis. The Republican Party of Hoover and now the Democratic Party of Roosevelt have both failed to relieve the suffering of the people or to overcome the crisis. Their policies have served only to further enrich the biggest, the monopoly capitalists and to further impoverish the masses of the people. With the continuation of such policies the capitalists will only succeed in placing further tremendously increased burdens on the masses.

The Communist Party is the only political party which leads in the every-day fight of the masses of the people for improved conditions; it alone offers a practical way out of the appalling misery and suffering brought on by capitalism and capitalist rule.

Fifteen million people remain unemployed with still inadequate relief, in fact with reduced relief.

The masses still clinging to jobs have had their real earnings sharply reduced through the dual process of N.R.A. codes and inflation.

The Negro people are discriminated against on the job and in the handing out of relief; Negro sharecroppers are being driven off the land by the cotton reduction program and forced into starvation; they are undergoing the greatest poverty, suffering, persecution and terror.

Roosevelt's A.A.A., embodying the willful destruction of hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of cotton, wheat, cattle, etc., while millions go hungry, has resulted in more evictions of farmers from their land, in more foreclosures and in the further impoverishment of the mass of poor and middle farmers. The A.A.A. destruction, combined now with the drought, has brought the whole farming section from Canada to Mexico to the condition of famine.

Millions of working class housewives are being compelled to seek employment in industry, with wages for women being far below the already low wages of men.

The young generation, with the school system in almost total collapse, is growing to manhood and womanhood without prospect of jobs or future security. The "New Deal" for the youth means militarization and forced labor in camps under army supervision.

The small business men and the lower middle class have been brought to the point of ruin, while the "New Deal" has greatly strengthened the position and increased the profits of the big trusts and monopolies.

On all sides, more privileges and power for the wealthy and more misery, suffering and disease for the masses characterize the decaying capitalist system.

Faced with their own inability to solve the paralyzing economic crisis by ordinary means, the capitalist rulers of the country, the Morgans, Rockefellers, Fords, through Roosevelt, who acts as their chief executive, prepare for imperialist war, for a new world slaughter. The billions needed to keep alive the hungry masses are spent instead on means of murder, on battleships, machine guns, tanks, airplanes, poison gas.

Roosevelt Regime Takes Fascist Steps

Faced with the growing discontent of the people, as expressed in the wave of fiercely fought strike struggles, the militant demonstrations of the unemployed and the determined battles of the farmers and farm laborers the big-banker-controlled regime of Roosevelt is resorting more and more openly to fascist measures of suppression, to open murder and terror against the masses, to a brazen restriction of the rights of the toiling population.

American capitalism is fostering open fascist ideology and action expressed also in intensified lynch terror against Negroes, hounding of the foreign-born workers, and anti-Semitism of medieval Europe and Nazi Germany.

Capitalist rule has to offer only — hunger, misery, fascism, war!

WP ORGANIZATION BULLETIN

#71

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WORKERS PARTY

New York Dist.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE:

Larry Cohen

Morris Lewit

Jack Weber

NUMBER TWO

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REPORTS TO THE

9TH CONVENTION

OF THE

COMMUNIST PARTY

MANHATTAN OPERA HOUSE, NEW YORK
JUNE 24, 1936

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THE UNITED STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

3 - SEP 29
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By G. Dimitroff

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Aug, 1936

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MAY DAY

1937

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WHAT IT MEANS TO YOU

BY LOUIS F. BUDENZ

ONE CENT

May, 1938

REPORT ON NATIONAL GROUPS

Material for National Groups Commission, 10th Party Convention

Facts About the Work of the National Groups
Their Strength, Influence, Press and Circulation

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The June Plenum of the Central Committee marked a decisive turn in our movement in the work among the various national groups. As a result, we may report to the Convention that the work of some of the National Bureaus has been greatly improved due to:

a) A better understanding throughout the Party, and especially among the leading people in the Districts, of the importance of the National Groups in the economic, political and cultural life of the country, hence -- in the progressive movement, the trade unions, and in the class struggle generally.

b) The Central Bureau of the Central Committee for National Groups is now functioning much better than before the June Plenum.

The central task of our Bureaus of the various nationalities was, and still is, to develop the activity designed to unite the fellow-countrymen of the various nationalities into a democratic front on the basis of immediate issues -- common to all the working people -- such as: for peace, for civil rights, against fascism, for higher wages, for better working conditions, etc., in connection with some particular issue that may concern primarily a particular nationality. Special emphasis must be made so that such activity is not confined to the so-called left-wing movement, but is broadened out to include even church groups, fraternal organizations, and all other types of organizations that can be drawn into it.

As in all other activities, the principles of concentration shall be applied in approaching the various National Groups, especially in connection with united front activity. In this respect, four major groups -- Jewish, German, Italian, and Polish (consisting of about 16 - 18 million people altogether) must be recognized as groups that should receive special consideration.

Some Facts about the Work of the National Groups*

German Bureau

The German population, together with the Austrians and Swiss-Germans, is about 8,000,000. The membership of the Party is about 700. Only about 100 are involved in work among the German masses.

The concentration points of the Germans are New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, Newark, Cleveland, San Francisco, and St. Louis. The mass organizations in which the Party has influence are: The Krankenkasse, singing society, Nature Friends (about 65,000 members). In spite of successful recruiting into the Party, because of lack of work with the new members, there is a fluctuation of almost 96%. In this respect, the corresponding districts did not pay sufficient attention to the problems of the German-Americans as a nationality.

* Statistics, especially about Party membership, are approximate, not always corresponding to the registration records, due to the fact that the Bureaus do not always have exact figures.

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RULES AND REGULATIONS ON DISCIPLINARY CASES

Issued by National Control Commission, C.P., U.S.A., October, 1938

(To be distributed to all Section organizations and all isolated branches)

1. On the basis of previous experience and the new Constitution and By-Laws of the Party, the National Control Commission has worked out the following Rules and Regulations on Disciplinary Cases, which shall be observed by all State (or District), Section and Branch organizations of the Party, and which supersede all previously issued, especially wherever there is a difference between them.

STATE DISCIPLINARY COMMITTEES

2. The By-Laws of the Party specifically provide that "in States having over one thousand members, the State Committee shall appoint a Disciplinary Committee." The task of the State (or District) Disciplinary Committee shall be to conduct investigations and hearings on disciplinary cases and to report their findings and recommendations to the State Committee. In smaller states the appointment of a Disciplinary Committee is left to the discretion of the State Committee. Where no permanent Disciplinary Committee exists, investigations and hearings shall be conducted either by the respective State Executive Committees (or Section Exec. Comm.) themselves, or by special committees appointed by them for certain specific cases. Yet, in every case, the general Nat'l Control Comm. rules and directives must be observed.

JURISDICTION AND APPROVALS

3. The Constitution provides that "the Party Branch shall have the right to decide on any disciplinary measure, including expulsion," that "such action (expulsion) is subject to final approval by the State Committee," and that "the Section, State, National Committee and National Control Commission have the right to hear and take disciplinary action against any individual member or organization under their jurisdiction."

4. The rules on jurisdiction are flexible. It is desirable that all kinds of wrongdoings and violations of Party discipline and ethics on the part of any of its members be taken up at the regular meetings of a Party Branch. Thus, the membership will profit from an analysis and discussion of these wrongdoings, of their meaning, of how to discover them and how to fight against them. But preliminary investigation and hearings (to establish the facts) should still be conducted by the Branch Exec. Comm. or by a special committee formed for that purpose on each specific case.

5. As a rule, the Branch takes up charges made against one of its members by another of its members, and charges referred to the Branch by the Section or State. The Section takes up charges involving members from different Branches in its territory, charges pertaining to a member's activities in leading posts of section scope, and appeals against Branch decisions. The State takes up charges involving members from different Sections, charges against holders of leading posts of State scope, and appeals against Section decisions. The Nat'l Control Comm. takes up charges originating outside the State where the accused member belongs, charges against holders of national posts, and appeals against State decisions. A case may be referred by a higher committee to a lower committee and so on down to the Branch to which the accused member belongs. Leading Party committees may institute investigations and proceedings against any member or committee within their territory.

6. Subject to final approval by State (or Distr.) Committee are the following actions: a) All expulsions; b) All actions to drop from the Party for political or personal unfitness; c) All readmissions of those dropped or stricken from Party rolls. Approval by Nat'l Control Commission is required on all readmissions of previously expelled persons and on public exposures.

CHARGES, HEARINGS AND APPEALS

7. The Constitution of the Party provides that "charges against individual members may be made by any person —Party or non-Party—in writing, to the Branches of the Party or to any leading committee." The latter then decide on matters of jurisdiction and procedure. Party committees may decide to take up a case for investigation without any definite charges. Loose spreading of charges or rumors by one member to another is impermissible. All charges and suspicions must be taken up only with the proper Party body. The latter must deal with them promptly and in such a way as not to jeopardize the interests of the Party and not to cast unjustified reflections upon individual members involved.

8. As to hearings and appeals, according to the Constitution of the Party—"All parties concerned shall have the fullest right to appear, to bring witnesses and to testify before the Party organization, (and) the member punished shall have the right to appeal any disciplinary decision to the higher committees up to the National Convention of the Party."

9. Before formal hearings are called, the following preliminary steps will save time and effort in most cases: a) Get detailed information from the accusing side (background of charges, dates, places, witnesses, other proofs, etc.), fixing these by supplementary written statements, if necessary; b) Call in the accused member, inform him (or her) of the charges, get his side on the various facts and questions involved, ask for a written statement, take up the question of a formal hearing; c) Make a preliminary check-up on factual statements, on previous records of the members involved, on their present standing and activities. The whole Committee (or subcommittee) is not needed for the carrying out of these preliminary steps.

10. Notices of formal hearings should be sent out about one week in advance, making sure that the principals (especially the accused member) get them (personally given or by registered mail). The hearings must be conducted as organizational proceedings, not like court trials. The main purpose is to establish the essential facts and to allow the accused members to present their sides with their witnesses and documents, but not to play with technicalities.

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DRAFT FOR OUTLINE ON DISCIPLINE AND CONTROL

Realization of the importance of discipline goes hand in hand with knowledge of Marxism-Leninism in general. It is especially important that participants in a discussion on on Party discipline have studied the Party Constitution and know the principles of democratic centralism.

Repquirements of Party Membership

1. No person can be a member of the Oarty without fulfilling the four conditions mentioned in Section 2 of the Party Constitution.

a) What is the significance of each of these conditions.

Democratic Centralism

1. Democratic centralism is the principle of the submission of the opinion of the minority to that of the majority, with centralized authority.

a) Leading committees are numerically the small minority, but have authority of decision on matters involving, numerically, the majority. Hos is the will of the majority brought about.

b) Centralized authority as the only guarantee of Party democracy.

-Bureaucracy a characteristic of parties oermitting conflicting policies and decentralization af authority.

2. Self-Criticism and Correction

a) Discipline implies criticism, Not blind adherence to policy.

--Criticism not fault-finding; it also implies correction. In other words, correction on basis of critical analysis.

--Learn from mistakes.

--The aoplication of self criticism to the individual and to the Party as a whole.

3. The struggle against deviations, opportunism, self-satisfaction, and anti-workingclass elements.

4. The necessity of unity of oolicy and action.

a) Democratic Centralism and all it imples is guarantee for unity of the Party.

b) Factionalism, what it is, and why it is prohibites in the Party.

Reading material: Party constitution, Foundations of Leninism by Stalin, section dealing with the Party.

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SPECIAL BULLETIN

Issued by the National Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A.

OCTOBER, 1938

A Message to the Party Membership

Dear Comrades:

We address ourselves directly to you because we feel that in this period of most acute international developments, at a moment in which the forces of fascism and reaction are getting bolder and bolder, not only abroad hut at home as well, it is necessary that our Party act most energetically, that every Party member fulfills his duty, be absolutely clear on our aims and tasks.

We address ourselves directly to the branches, to you—to every Party member, because it is through your activities in the neighborhoods, in the factories, through your activities in the trade unions and other mass organizations, throngh your daily contact with the masses that our Party acts, presents its program to the masses of people and proves in life through its deeds to be the Party that has at heart the interest of the toiling people.

Our Party must redouble [illegible] forts to inject new life and energy into the masses who have common aspirations. We mnst help to organize the millions into a powerful movement so that the November elections will register a new victory over the Tories.

In this connection, comrades, a word on the vital prohlem of trade union unity.

Imagine how much stronger the voice of labor wonld be if the A. F. of L. and CIO forces would be united! Not only would the ranks of the trade unions swell hy millions, hut lahor as well would register new gains in the economic field. What is very important, labor would be in a much better position to defend the gains made so far—to defend the Wagner Act and other progressive measures. Labor nnited with the forces of progress into a broad democratic front movement would be one of the strongest hulwarks to repel the attacks of reaction and stimulate and influence the conrse of progress.

The development of a powerful democratic front movement, embracing all those forces that stand behind the progressive measures of the Administration—including the masses of the Negro people and the members of various national gronps that strive for equal rights with the rest of the American people will advance, at the same time, the canse of peace threatened by the fascist aggressors, who are getting bolder and bolder after the rape of Czechoslovakia agreed npon in the infamous Chamberlain-Daladier Munich betrayal. Now they are planning new Munichs in Spain and China. We must rouse the people against new betrayals of democracy and peace.

A stronger Party numerically and with full understanding of its tasks, means a stronger progressive movement, stronger support to the progressive candidates in the November elections; a stronger Party means redonbled activities in the trade unions with a strengthening of the masses' determination for unity. A stronger Party means a much more vigorous struggle against fascist aggression and for peace.

Comrades of the branches, we know how active, how devoted you are. We know how enthusiastically yon threw yourselves into the election campaign, into the campaign for peace; we know your continuous efforts in defense of Democratic Spain and the Chinese people. Yes! Our Party is composed of devoted, active, self-sacrificing fighters. But we have not yet learned sufficiently how to organize the work to secure the maximum results from our efforts. Also, that we must work faster, [illegible] This re[illegible]elf-improvement throngh continnous education which arms us with the means of better and more quickly convincing larger masses of the correctness of the Party line, and improving our methods of work. This requires improvement of our organization. How does the Party operate? Through its branches. It speaks to the masses throngh its press, through our literature, through the bulletins and leaflets that you are spreading in the factories, in the neighborhoods. These are the levers which we must strengthen. The better and stronger the organization, the better and stronger our Party press, greater our resnlts.

In analyzing the growth of the Party in the recent months, the enlarged meeting of the Political Committee of our Party came to the conclusion that our Party grows faster in those states and cities where the branches function better, where the branch organizations develop struggles and are centers that radiate life and activities, becoming real Communist centers; also in the case of industries, where our branches come forward in the name of the Party with correct suggestions on how to strengthen the unions, how to solve the vital prohlems of the workers.

The problem of Party building is the problem of activizing the branches. Certainly, guidance must be given to these organizations in the form of educational and organizational assistance. The branch hureaus must be improved and made into capable leadership. Yet many actions can be initiated hy the collective of the hranches themselves, which will help in developing the leadership, will cre[illegible] and put the progress. We take for granted you are in a hranch in a congressional district, assemhly district, ward or town; this means your hranch is the Communist Party in this congressional district, assemhly district, ward or town. The membership of the hranch lives in the territory, sometimes even work in the territory, knows the organizations existing in the territory, and what is more important, knows many of the people living in the territory; knows their needs, their sentiments, their aspirations.

If your branch wants to function as the Communist Party of this territory and aim at influencing and winning the masses, the first prerequisite for the branch is to have a program of action.

Is it difficult to work out such a program of action by the collective of your branch? Let's see what are the issnes that the people in your territory are confronted with; you will find, for example, that there is no health center where people can go for advice or for immediate care. Yon will find there are a number of houses not in compliance with the requirements of the sanitation law, fire law, etc.; that the rents are high, that the landlords are sucking out of the tenants' pockets their last pennies, etc. You will find, very prohahly, that there are no libraries, no playgrounds, so that your children and the children of the neighborhoods are exposed to the risk of traffic. You will find that the leaders of the old parties made all kinds of promises that were never maintained.

Is it not possible for your hranch, for any branch, to launch campaigns around such issues that people of your [illegible] are issues around which you can huild a real united front of all interested progressive forces of both parties, of the organizations existing in the territory of yonr branch. Here are issues around which campaigns can be developed in which not only workers can be involved, but housewives, small business men of the neighborhoods, and professionals who are also interested in the welfare of the people in the neighborhoods. The moment the branches develop snch activities, involving masses who come in contact with hundreds of militant people agreeing to work for a good cause, the Party will hecome known, the red-scare will be crushed, and the headquarters of the Party will become real Communist community centers.

In brief, we must know which are the vital issues, and find the way to present them to the masses, with concrete proposals for their solution. For this reason we must be able to speak to the masses. How? Through our press; through our leaflets and pamphlets; through hulletins or small papers issned in the name of the Party in the particular congressional, assembly district, ward or township. We must organize mass meetings, canvass the territory, arrange social gatherings, etc. The moment we issne a paper that takes up the concrete problems of the people in the territory of your branch, you will find collaborators, contributors that will help in the mobilization and organization of the people.

Beside the local issues, you will be ahle to treat other prohlems of

(Continued on Page 3)

Your Branch . . .

HOW DOES IT WORK?

WHAT ARE ITS PROBLEMS?

HOW CAN YOU SOLVE THEM?

Read the Report by Jack Stachel, Exec. Secy., National Committee, on Pages 4 and 5.

41-75 9-2-349
X-JK2391 .C5 #79

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS, COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

Unanimously Adopted by Its Tenth National Convention, New York, May 26 to 31, 1938, Submitted in Final Form for Ratification by the Membership

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PREAMBLE

THE Communist Party of the United States of America is a working class political party carrying forward today the traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Jackson and Lincoln, and of the Declaration of Independence; it upholds the achievements of democracy, the rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and defends the United States Constitution against its reactionary enemies who would destroy democracy and all popular liberties; it is devoted to defense of the immediate interests of workers, farmers, and all toilers against capitalist exploitation, and to preparation of the working class for its historic mission to unite and lead the American people to extend these democratic principles to their necessary and logical conclusions:

By establishing common ownership of the national economy, through a government of the people, by the people, and for the people; the abolition of all exploitation of man by man, nation by nation, and race by race, and thereby the abolition of class divisions in society; that is, by the establishment of Socialism, according to the scientific principles enunciated by the greatest teachers of mankind, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, embodied in the Communist International; and the free cooperation of the American people with those of other lands, striving toward a world without oppression and war, a world brotherhood of man.

To this end, the Communist Party of the United States of America, establishes the basic laws of its organization in the following CONSTITUTION:

ARTICLE I

Name

this provision, and a personal effort made to bring such member into good standing. However, if a member who for these reasons has been stricken from the rolls applies for re-admission within six months, he may, on the approval of the leading Party committees, be permitted to pay up his back dues and keep his standing as an old member.

ARTICLE IV

Initiation and Dues

Section 1. The initiation fee for an employed person shall be 50 cents, for an unemployed person, 10 cents.

Section 2. Dues shall be paid every month according to rates fixed by action of the Party convention.

Section 3. The income from dues is distributed to the various Party organizations as follows:

a. 25 per cent to the Branch.
b. 35 per cent to the National Office.
c. The remaining 40 per cent shall be distributed between the respective State, County, City and Section organizations in accordance with decisions of the State Conventions.

Section 4. Fifty per cent of the initiation fee shall be sent to the National Committee and 50 per cent shall remain with the State organization.

ARTICLE V

International Solidarity and Assessment

Section 1. Every four months, all members of the Party shall pay an assessment amounting to the average dues payment per month for the previous four months, for an International Solidarity Fund. This money shall be used by the National Committee exclusively to aid our brother Communist Parties in other countries suffering from fascist and military reaction.

Section 2. All local or district assessments are prohibited, except by special permission of the National

Section 9. It shall be the duty of Party members to explain the mass policies of the Party and the principles of Socialism.

Section 10. All Party members who are eligible shall be required to belong to their respective trade unions.

Section 11. All officers and leading committees of the Party from the Branch Executive Committee up to the highest committees are elected either directly by the membership or through their elected delegates. Every committee must report regularly on its activities to its Party organization.

Section 12. All Party officers may be removed at any time from their position by a majority vote of the body which elected them, or by the body to which they are responsible, with the approval of the National Committee.

Section 13. Requests for release of a Party member from responsible posts can be granted only by the Party organization which elected him, or to which he is responsible, in consultation with the next higher committee.

Section 14. No Party member shall have personal or political relationship with confirmed Trotzkyites, Lovestoneites, or other known enemies of the Party and of the working class.

Section 15. All Party members eligible shall register and vote in the elections for all public offices.

ARTICLE VII

Structure of the Party

Section 1. The basic organizations of the Communist Party of the U.S.A. are the shop, industrial and territorial branches.

The Executive Committee of the Branch shall be elected once a year by the membership.

ARTICLE VIII

National Organization

Section 1. The Supreme authority in the Communist Party of the U.S.A. is the National Convention. Regular Conventions shall be held every two years. Only such a National Convention is authorized to make political and organizational decisions binding upon the entire Party and its membership.

Section 2. The National Convention shall be composed of delegates elected by the State and District Conventions. The delegates are elected on the basis of numerical strength of the State organizations. The basis for representation shall be determined by the National Committee.

Section 3. For two months prior to the Convention, discussions shall take place in all Party organizations on the main resolutions and problems coming before the Convention. During this discussion all Party organizations have the right and duty to adopt resolutions and amendments to the Draft Resolutions of the National Committee for consideration at the Convention.

Section 4. The National Convention elects the National Committee, a National Chairman and General Secretary by majority vote. The National Committee shall be composed of regular and alternate members. The alternate members shall have voice but no vote.

Section 5. The size of the National Committee shall be decided upon by each National Convention of the Party. Members of the National Committee must have been active members of the Party for at least three years.

Section 6. The National Committee is the highest authority of the Party between Party Conventions, and is responsible for enforcing the Constitution and securing the execution of the general policies adopted by the democratically elected delegates in the National Convention assembled. The National Committee represents the Party as a whole, and has the right to make decisions with full authority on any problem facing the

May, 1938.

REPORT ON FARM WORK AND OUR TASKS.

Material for the Farm Commission, 10th Party Convention.

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REVIEW The Ninth Party Convention and subsequent Central Committee meetings have stressed the importance of uniting the progressive farm movement, of building the farmer-labor alliance and of organizing the unorganized farmers to defeat reaction in rural districts. There have been definite advances in the direction of these objectives.

Unity. In the Mid-West the Farm Holiday Association, and in the South Share Croppers Union united with the National Farmers Union last year. Independent groups in New York, Louisiana and California are being urged to unite with the Farmers Union.

Coughlinite Influence. Two years ago, the Coughlinites were choking everything progressive in the Farmers Union. Last year the Coughlinites were eliminated from leadership in the Alabama Farmers Union and they suffered defeats in Ohio and Pennsylvania. In the last National Convention of the Union, the last of the Coughlinites were eliminated from national leadership. The progressive leaders have revoked the Coughlinite-controlled charters in Minnesota and Michigan with the aim of restoring them to active progressive elements at the next convention. Coughlinites remain in control of "vest pocket" state unions in Illinois and Indiana and maintain influence in the Iowa Union. A more vigorous campaign against Coughlinite elements is needed to stop them from splitting the Union, to remove them from leadership completely in all Farmers Union states, and to check their efforts to block progressive action in the Union.

Farmer-Labor Alliance. The chartering of the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America by the CIO last year gave birth to a rapid organizing drive among farm and cannery workers. The Union has grown to 118,000 members. With its policy of cooperation with small farmers, it is the most important single factor in the development of a farmer-labor alliance.

While in several states the Farmers Union was actively cooperating with labor, the last national convention authorized the National Board to work out forms of cooperation with labor on a permanent basis. This was done last December when the Farmers Union signed a legislative pact with Labor's Non-Partisan League and the CIO, and later, when this agreement was extended to include efforts to have consumer cooperatives deal directly with the farmers. Other farm organizations in New York, California and Louisiana are cooperating with labor. While good beginnings have been made to develop farmer-labor political conferences and other forms of cooperation in every rural area.

Organization. The Farmers Union has appointed Southern and Eastern Organizing Committees which can serve as a spring-board for mass organizing drives. The possibilities of uniting all progressive farm leaders, with the cooperation of labor, for a national organizing drive among small farmers are very good and every effort should be made to crystallize this movement as soon as possible. Ohio and Massachusetts have made small beginnings in this work. In Minnesota a real organizing drive is under way.

Reactionary Movements. The pro-fascist Associated Farmers on the West Coast have already spread into seven Rocky Mountain states with the immediate objective of crushing organization of agricultural and other labor. Here it is very important to organize small farmers in alliance with labor as quickly as possible to defeat this movement. The Corn Belt Liberty League has sprung up in the last month to correl farm support to defeat the New Deal in the elections. Here it is important to expand the Farmers Union and other pro-New Deal farm groups to defeat this movement.

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REPORT

OF

Literature Commission

TO THE

TENTH CONVENTION

OF THE

COMMUNIST PARTY, U.S.A.

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1. Report of Literature Commission on Publication and Distribution of Literature
2. Number of Pieces of Literature Sold by Center to Districts—1936
3. Number of Pieces of Literature Sold by Center to Districts—1937
4. Comparison of Quantities of Books and Pamphlets Published, by Classifications—1936, 1937
5. Youth Pamphlets Published—1936, 1937, 1938
6. Foreign Language Literature Published by Center—1936, 1937
7. Books and Pamphlets Published—1938
8. Mass Editions of 50,000 and Over
9. Sales of *The People's Front* to Districts in Relation to Pledges
10. Distribution of Party Periodicals, by Districts

New York

MAY 26-31, 1938

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LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT
ON THE WAR CRISIS

- and Members of Congress of the United States -

From the Communist Party of the United States

September 11, 1939

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States

Members of Congress of the United States

Dear Mr. President and Congressmen:

In this hour of world crisis, when the most horrible catastrophe is descending upon tens of millions of men, women and children in other lands, and is threatening our own country, American thought turns to the question of national unity, to the unity of the great majority of the American people, in protection of the national interests in furthering the cause of peace, and in finding guarantees for American social and national security.

We address this letter to you, on behalf of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., which has spoken unanimously at a National Conference of six hundred and fifty of its representatives from all states, held in Chicago, September 1, 2, and 3, 1939. We place before those who are responsible for the welfare of our people and nation the firm solidarity of our Party with the hopes, aspirations and desires of the great majority of the American people, and the ardent wish of our Party and all its members to work harmoniously with this majority and its elected representatives for the common interest and the common welfare.

This is all the more necessary since the Communist Party of the U.S.A., although a relatively small minority party, is the most stable and rapidly growing of such minorities, and exerts an influence upon public thought far beyond the confines of its membership. It is also made especially necessary by the persistent and highly-organized campaign of misrepresentation which tries to picture our Party as un-American, as an agency of some foreign principal directed against the interests and unity of the American people -- misrepresentation which pictures our loyalty to the principles of socialism as disloyalty to our own country and people. These slanders are refuted by our political views and our work, and by our position in the present crisis.

We are Americans who love our country and would serve it by our best thought and most energetic action. As we understand the American tradition and Constitution, all persons, parties and groups, have the responsibility and duty to make clear, beyond doubt, their firm and unconditional defense of American social and national security; with this established, we believe

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Por la Paz, el Bienestar y el Socialismo!

La Lucha

Periódico Popular

Publicado por el Comité del West Side del Partido Comunista de San Antonio.
P. O. Box 1754.
EMMA TENAYUCA, Directora. Precio de ejemplar 2c

POR LOS DERECHOS ECONOMICOS, POLITICOS Y SOCIALES DEL PUEBLO MEXICANO!

VOL. I SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, OCTUBRE DE 1940 NUM. 8

Las Elecciones y La Lucha del P. Mexicano

OBREROS! PUEBLO EN GENERAL! VOTEN POR EL PARTIDO COMUNISTA EL DIA 5 DE NOVIEMBRE

El pueblo Mexicano de Texas jamás pudo gozar de todas las medidas legislativas del "New Deal" cuando éste era el verdadero "New Deal" Las agencias como la WPA y NYA siempre han manifestado una notoria discriminación hacia el elemento nuestro. En 1937, el Congreso adherió al presupuesto del WPA la infame ley que dejó cesantes a miles de obreros que no eran ciudadanos, y que todavía no habían obtenido sus primeros papeles. En 1938, el Congreso abolió todo trabajo para los no ciudadanos. Estas medidas han afectado seriamente y provocado sufrimientos y miserias, hambre y desamparo a miles de obreros Mexicanos en el estado de Texas.

Ahora, Cuando la política del Presidente Roosevelt es orientada hacia meter el país a la GUERRA, cuando todas sus medidas nacionales tienden hacia establecer una dictadura FACISTA en el país, como la unica manera para aplastar la oposición a la GUERRA, cada medida, cada paso de la presente administración empeora mas que nunca las condiciones del pueblo mexicano. TOME NOTA DE LO SIGUIENTE:

1.—Para los ciudadanos y no ciudadanos, el tal llamado "PROGRAMA DE DEFENSA" quiere decir MENOS trabajo en el WPA, MENOS trabajo en los proyectos de casas, MENOS trabajos en los proyectos del NYA. Todo el programa de "DEFENSA" se esta llevando a cabo a costo del pueblo. Demagógicamente se nos pide que hagamos sacrificios, mientras los grandes monopolios reciben grandes subsidios del gobierno. La disminución de trabajos en el WPA, NYA trae más sufrimiento al pueblo Mexicano, en vista de que para nosotros siempre ha habido discriminación en estos trabajos.

2.—La Ley de Registro de Extranjeros se pasó con el objeto de intimidar al gran número de obreros extranjeros, intimidarlos para que no se organizaran, para que no hicieran nada para mejorar sus condiciones. Para los miles de obreros Mexicanos de Texas esta ley nos vuelve a peores condiciones de las que existían en 1932-33, cuando todo huelguista Mexicano era amenazado con la deportación. Esta medida amenaza los derechos civiles de todo Mexicano.

3.—La ley de servicio militar, la cual significa ya la regimentación fascista de la juventud, trae miseria, muerte y opresión a la juventud Mexicana. El carácter reaccionario de tal medida se ve mejor cuando vemos que la juventud Mexicana, a la cual se le niega el derecho a trabajos en muchos lugares, a los jóvenes que han nacido en el otro lado del Río Bravo, a los cuales se les niega trabajos en el WPA — todos, tendrán que registrarse para el servicio militar.

4.—La política del "Buen Vecino" del Presidente Roosevelt ha sido substituida por la odiada "Doctrina Monroe." Los Imperialistas Americanos, los banqueros de Wall Street se aprovechan de la guerra en Europa para exten-

(Pasa a la Página 2)

EMMA TENAYUCA, CANDIDATO PARA EL CONGRESO, CONTRA KILDAY

—Emma Tenayuca, presidenta estatal del Partido Comunista será el candidato para el Congreso Curul, No. 20 y será adversaria de Paul J. Kilday. Emma nació en San Antonio, en Diciembre 21, 1917. Concurrió a las escuelas de Bowie, Irving y Brackenridge. Graduó de Brackenridge en 1934.

Desde que terminó la escuela, casi todo su tiempo ha sido dedicado al movimiento obrero. En 1936, ayudó a formar la primera organización de los trabajadores desocupados: El Concilio de Desocupados. Después ayudó a organizar la "Alianza Obrera de América", sirviendo como secretaria por más de año y medio.

Durante el tiempo que trabajó con la Alianza era su representante en las Comisiones de quejas, llevando quejas de obreros ante esas oficinas. El 1937 organizó la gran manifestación de obreros desocupados, después de la cual el WPA local aumentó su cuota a mas de 2000 trabajadores. En otras palabras el WPA puso a trabajar a más de 2000 obreros después de la manifestación.

Ayudó a formar la unión de nueceros, sirviendo como dirigente de la huelga las primeras 3 semanas, hasta que llegó su presidente internacional, Donald Henderson.

Ingresó al Partido Comunista en 1938; y desde ese tiempo ha dedicado su tiempo en pro del Partido Comunista. Fué elejida presidenta del Comité Estatal el mismo año.

the Wall Street bankers, have taken advantage of the War in Europe in order to extend their control over the countries of Latin America. Economic pressure -- the boycott of products of Latin-American countries -- is adopted by Wall Street to crush the revolutionary movements in those countries and thus establish reactionary regimes that will function in conformity with Wall Street. At the present moment Roosevelt puts pressure on President Cardenas to make him abandon the march of the Mexican revolution. The protection that the imperialists offer to the Latin-American countries is in the form of warships, along all the coast, ships that could be used for intervention in those countries in case of popular uprisings.

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AN ANSWER TO THE SPLITTERS

New York, N.Y.
March 5, 1940

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Dear Comrades,

Under separate cover you have already received a copy of the "Resolution on Party Unity" adopted by the Cleveland conference of the opposition. This "resolution" was handed to us by the representatives of the opposition at the P.C. meeting the other day. Evidently they want our answer. We shall not keep them waiting. Here is our answer:

I. Formal Declaration of Split

This resolution is in fact a political declaration of the split which the conference itself was designed to prepare in an organizational sense. The resolution declares, "The nature of the differences is such that it does not permit a solution merely by the procedure, normal in the movement, of having the convention minority submit to the decision of the convention majority." By that declaration they reject in advance the only possible solution of a party dispute by the democratic method of majority rule. They say in effect that for them the decisions of a democratically organized party convention have no meaning and they declare in advance their refusal to accept the decisions of the convention. As far as they are concerned, the convention might as well not be held unless they can have their way.

Unless we are prepared to throw overboard the Leninist principle of democratic centralism; unless we are ready to turn the principle upside down and compel the majority to submit to the minority -- we have to recognize the declaration of the opposition for what it really is: The formal declaration of a split. Nothing remains but to recognize reality and take all the necessary measures to protect the integrity of the party and declare a merciless and uncompromising war on the splitters.

II. Peculiar Kind of "Unity"

The resolution demands for the minority "the right to publish a political journal of its own." And to leave no room for doubt that they mean a completely independent publication, they add: "Such a journal can only be published upon the responsibility and under the control of the tendency itself." And then, to make their position crystal clear, they state that this "solution" of the difficulty "is the only concrete one that can be made." Under these conditions, and only under these conditions, they assure us the "unity of the party" can be preserved. That is to say, if the majority will authorize and "legalize" a split, the party can have the fiction of formal unity by way of compensation. We do not believe a single member of the majority will entertain such a proposition for a moment.

III. Democratic Centralism Annihilated

At the very best, the resolution of the opposition can be described as an attempt to annihilate the democratic centralism of a revolutionary party in favor of the notorious and ill-fated "all inclusive party" of Norman Thomas. But history has already passed a cruel judgment on this conception of party organization. It would be insane folly to repeat the experiment. If the convention should sanction such a scheme of organization it would simply mean that the "united"

Recd from Garfield Maunder 4-12-41
No. 1

Tenth National Convention

DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Issued by the Central Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A.

Our Tasks in the Pre-Convention Discussion

By ALEX BITTELMAN

WITH the opening of the Party Convention discussion, the membership enters actively into the work of laying down the Party's line, of formulating the Party's major tasks and methods of work, for the coming period. The Central Committee, in fulfilment of its duties as the Party's leading body between Conventions, has drawn up resolutions, to assist and guide the membership in the vital pre-convention deliberations.

Every Party member has not only a right but a duty to contribute to the utmost to this discussion.

First, of course, is a review of our work since the Ninth Convention, all phases of our work, beginning with the unit and branch and concluding with the Central Committee. The practical aim naturally is to learn from the past in order to improve our work in the future. Everyone of us who has the honor to belong to the Party, is able to contribute something valuable and precious to the discussion which will seek to improve our work, which will seek to increase our usefulness and indispensability to the labor movement and to the whole camp of progress and democracy.

During the past two years—the period since the Ninth Convention—the Party has been increasingly active in the progressive movements of the working class and of our people, helping to build the power of progress against the onslaughts of reaction, clarifying before the masses the deeper meaning of their daily struggles for a better life, and propagating the socialist aims and principles of Marxism-Leninism. We have done it under the leadership of our Central Committee headed by Browder and Foster.

THEREFORE, when we say that the Party has been increasingly active, growing together with the progressive mass movements into an important political factor in the country, it means that *Communists* and Communist Party *organizations* have been increasingly active, have been making themselves more useful and more indispensable to our class—the working class—and to our people. And what does that mean with respect to the convention discussion? It means the Party members and organizations have more experience, more and wider mass contacts, more knowledge of the needs and attitudes of the masses, more understanding of how to work with and among them along the lines of Party policy. That being so, it means finally that Party members and organizations are today able to contribute to a convention discussion much more than ever before.

True, not all Party members have in equal degree developed progressively their activities and usefulness. One of the main tasks, therefore, is to activize a larger proportion of our membership, to raise their initiative and Communist understanding. The convention discussion offers for that a good opportunity.

Discussion Should Be Self-Critical

SECOND, the convention discussion seeks to mobilize the public opinion of the entire Party to lay down the Party's main line, tasks and methods of work, for a period of great stress and seriousness which will tax to the utmost the leading capabilities of all progressive mass movements but especially the Communist Party. We therefore need the most serious and competent participation in this convention discussion of all members and Party organizations. We need both *quantity and quality*. The more members participate actively in the discussion the better, because this is bound to enrich the discussion and to activize the members themselves. And, of course, we need competent discussion, one of the highest possible quality, one that will help us make the best policies for the coming period. So again: we need both quantity and quality. *A Bolshevik self-critical discussion from top to bottom.*

There is still another phase to the Party discussion, inseparable from the deliberations on policy for the future but nonetheless a distinct phase. It is that in the two months of pre-convention discussion we must aim to intensify and improve all our activities: *mass work and Party building*. Or, better, to intensify Party building in the course of our intensified mass work in the building of the democratic front against fascism and war.

Every Party Member a Party Builder

MORE concretely: we must intensify *recruiting, the collection of dues*, the *registration* of those who have not yet been registered, and the building of the *circulation of the Party press.* Our slogan is: *Every Party member a Party builder.*

Remember these are the decisions of the February meeting of the Central Committee and Party Builders Congress. It was the unanimous opinion of that historic gathering that we can and must come to the Tenth Party Convention with 75,000 *good standing members*, and that we can bring up our total membership to at least 100,000 in the coming period.

The pre-convention discussion will therefore be most fruitful—theoretically, politically and all other ways—when it takes place in the surroundings of a more intense and productive Party life generally. One will help the other: good discussions, in the units and in the press, will attract and help bring new members, will help make good the standing of old members, will help win new readers for our press. Similarly, intense Party building in the process of improved struggle for the democratic front against fascism and war will in itself lend more substance, more experience, more richness to the discussion as such. It will make the results of the discussion *more actual and true.*

From which follows, of course, that the pre-convention discussion cannot and must not be confined to the Party members alone but must be so organized as to include the widest possible circles of non-Party workers and non-Party people. This is necessary for two reasons: (a) we can learn a lot from the non-Party people who take an interest and who participate in the progressive movements of the masses. We want to learn from them: and (b) their participation in our pre-convention discussion will help us in the more intensified work of building the Party and its press.

Party organizations have the important task of organizing and leading this sort of a pre-convention discussion.

IMPROVE PARTY WORK IN THE FACTORIES

IN SOME districts there has been a feeling that the shop units are not so important any more. This is not true. It cannot be true.

I always envy our French comrades when I hear that they have a shop nucleus of six to seven thousand in one of the auto plants. That is what I would like to see in the Ford plant, for instance. That is exactly what we are building for when we talk of shop organization in the large auto plants, in steel, textile, and similar large-scale plants.

Shall we give up such organization? The answer is *no*—a thousand times *no!*

On the contrary, let us improve our work in the factories. This means more attention to shop papers and shop issues, more attention to factory problems, to trade union work. In this way we will make the Party in the shop a fighting force, an indispensable force in the struggle and life of the workers in that factory.

If there has been any tendency to minimize this work, let us quickly crush this tendency, because it is a completely wrong tendency.

(From Jack Stachel's report to February Plenum of the Central Committee.)

No. 5

Tenth National Convention

DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Issued by the Central Committee, Communist Party, U. S. A.

#86

Tasks of Progressive Forces in the South

By R. F. HALL

THE South has a special stake in the success of the Roosevelt program. No section of our country needs a wages and hours bill more than we do. And no section of the country will benefit more profoundly from the enactment of this bill, together with other welfare legislation, than will our poor, benighted Dixie.

We are not poor in the gifts of nature or in our people. A TVA economist spoke of the South as "a section rich in natural resources but with a restricted consuming power." But that poverty of consuming power, the bitter fruit of feudal hang-overs and racial division, drops the seeds that produce widespread disease, illiteracy, wretched housing, unbearable working conditions.

Wretched Living Conditions

[illegible] for a long time without [illegible] es-

LET us look at "the c[illegible]."

Wages: A dollar for a 12-hour day is not unusual in rural districts of the South. Textile wages, which are presumably much higher than in agriculture, were recently studied by a reporter for the Philadelphia Record. He found the following to be fairly typical:

A worked 34 hours for $5.14.
B worked 40 hours for $5.53.
C worked 40 hours for $9.77.
D worked 40 hours for $11.00.

WPA scales for Atlanta, Ga., are 30 cents an hour, as compared with 52 cents an hour in Eastern cities.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics found that, in 20 selected industries (representing the more highly paid industries) the average wage in the South is 39 cents an hour compared with 51 cents in the North.

Education: An illiteracy rate of over 10 per cent as compared with 4 per cent for the country as a whole. America as a whole spends $99 a year on every pupil enrolled in school. The South spends $44.31 per white pupil and $12.57 per Negro pupil.

Public Health: The cotton states have the burden of typhoid and paratyphoid death rate that is twice the national average, and of pellagra and malaria death rates that are more than three times the national average. There is a wide prevalence of veneral diseases and tuberculosis in the South.

Housing: A survey of housing in Birmingham by the Board of Health revealed overcrowding and unsanitary conditions in Negro and working class sections. One section containing 7,073 people, had 613 outside dry privies, 83 homes without water, 90 out of every hundred without bathing facilities. A study of rural housing made by the WPA showed that while the average farm house in the middle Atlantic states was valued at $2,218, the average farm house in the cotton states was about $300. For whites the average was $280; for Negroes, $245.

Farm income: The average farm family in the United States receives an annual income between $1,200 and $1,500. In the South, tenancy has increased to 70 per cent. A study of 3,000 tenant families in four Southern states showed that of those who received a cash income in 1933, the average was $105.43 or $1.75 per person per month.

Roosevelt Tackles Southern Problems

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT last fall, in his Gainesville speech, dealt with the problems of the South directly, putting the New Deal definitely on record for the progressive elimination of the Southern wage differential. "Most men and women who work for wages in this whole area get wages which are far too low," the President declared.

Proceeding further, he said: "And let us well remember that buying power means many other kinds of better things—better schools, better health, better hospitals, better highways. These things will not come to us in the South if we oppose progress—if we believe in our hearts that the feudal system is still the best system."

The New Deal, therefore, and the progressive policies for which it stands, represents the solution to the immediate problems of the Southern people.

A visitor from Mars might find it strange and incongruous that the big business enemies of this program, the Liberty League Republicans, are finding their strongest allies precisely from the elected representatives of the Southern people.

The answer lies in the "twenty per cent democracy" which prevails in most Southern states. Eighty per cent of the people are denied the ballot either through poll taxes or the disfranchisement of the Negro people. **This is an obstacle to the election of progressives to office which can be overcome only where labor is organized and where labor itself is united.**

Bourbons Must Be Defeated

THE Southern oligarchy is a powerful one, a selfish and brutal one. The scent of magnolia blossoms and the perfume of the faded crinolines cannot shut out the stench of the slave market, and its present-day remnants of tenancy, lynching, disfranchisement and persecution of the Negro people.

"When you come down to it, there is little difference between the feudal system and the fascist system," said President Roosevelt. "If you believe in the one, you will lean to the other."

Thus the primary task of the common people of the South is the defeat of the Bourbon oligarchy, the defeat of that five per cent who live by feudalism and, together with the economic royalists of the North, are determined to usher in fascism.

They can be defeated only by the forging of the democratic front in the South into a powerful weapon of the people. It can have its basis only in united labor movement, in alliance with the farmers, the Negro people and the middle classes.

It is the task of our Party in the South to take the lead in the formation of this democratic front. The drive to organize the unorganized must be pushed, especially in textile, lumber and agriculture. The Farmers Union must be built to include the majority of the poor and middle farmers of the South. The Negro people must be encouraged and helped in the establishment of the NAACP, the Southern Negro Youth Congress and the National Negro Congress. These various sections of the population must be educated to the inter-relation of their interests and an unbreakable unity molded.

Program for Democratic Front

[illegible] profess to want to help the farmer [illegible] program, especially the following planks:

1. For President Roosevelt's recovery program, especially the wages and hours bill.

2. For the anti-lynching bill.

3. For the South-wide enforcement of the National Labor Relations Act.

4. For federal aid for education.

5. For the enforcement of the 14th and 15th Amendments.

6. Farm tenancy legislation to enable sharecroppers and tenants to secure ownership of their land. Amendments to the triple A to secure cost of production and low cost refinancing for farmers.

A people's program for state legislation will include:

1. Abolition of the poll tax.

2. Repeal of sales taxes and a fiscal program to put the burden on the big corporations, large landowners and wealthy individuals.

3. Laws guaranteeing the right to organize and protecting labor's rights.

4. The enforcement of Constitutional rights for free speech, free press and the right of assembly.

5. A program of legislation working progressively toward wiping out discrimination against the Negro people.

6. More funds for education, public health, secondary roads, better housing.

7. Improvement of social security laws for unemployment insur-

(Continued on Page 2)

LEADING THE STRUGGLE FOR RIGHTS OF NEGRO PEOPLE

Not the least part of the st[illegible] for democracy in Ame[illegible] [illegible]

BRIEF[illegible], what is th[illegible] [illegible] It means never to submit to [illegible] farm cooperatives [illegible] the honored [illegible] on of t[illegible] olitionists, whose work is not yet finished. Through our battles for Negro rights in a thousand places, through the Scottsboro and Herndon cases, we have earned the epithet from the Ku Klux Klan elements of being the "Negro Party." We are proud of that, because we know that only thus can we be truly the White Workers Party. it was Karl Marx who wrote, regarding our Civil War: "Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."**

(EARL BROWDER—*The People's Front, p. 247.*)

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COMMUNIST PARTY OF U.S.A.

NATIONAL OFFICE

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#87

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER
Chairman

EARL BROWDER
General Secretary

35 EAST 12th ST.—AL 4-2215

P. O. BOX 87 STA. D. New York City

August 1, 1941

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Dear Friend and Comrade,

As one of the four thousand workers who joined the Communist Party during the Browder Anniversary Campaign, launched in honor of Earl Browder, our General Secretary and foremost Party leader, we send you warm and comradely greetings in the name of the National Committee.

You have entered the Party in a grave and critical period, when the freedom and security of America, the progress and happiness of our people is at stake in the battle against Hitler and Hitlerism. In so doing you have shown courage, conviction, and a readiness to take your place together with the tens of thousands of Communists already in our ranks, in the forefront of the struggles of the workers and all other toilers. We take pride in welcoming you into our ranks.

The capitalist class has made various attempts to weaken our Party. Especially have they sought to disorganize and disrupt our Party through the imprisonment of Earl Browder, who consistently advocated a foreign policy for our country of American collaboration with the anti-Munich forces of the world, especially with the strongest anti-imperialist power -- the Soviet Union, and a domestic policy of struggle for the interests of the American toilers.

But the Communist Party is today united, consolidated, and more active generally than at any time in its history. The four thousand members who joined during the Browder Campaign are a tribute to the role and leadership of our Party. By enrolling in our ranks, you and the other thousands have greatly strengthened our Party, and thereby the working class.

Our Party -- your Party -- has many tasks today. You will learn of them through your participation in the organization and reading the literature of your Party. Chief among them are those arising from the new situation which now faces the people of our country as a result of the criminal attack of Hitler fascism upon the Soviet Union and the peoples of the whole world including our own America. One of the principal features of this task is the fight for the immediate freedom of Earl Browder.

The National Committee has adopted a historic Manifesto outlining these fundamental political tasks, and clarifying the issues which face the American people. You should carefully read and study this Manifesto and the pamphlet "The Fight Against Hitlerism," issued by the National Committee. These documents are your guide to activity and the political leadership which you yourself can learn to give among the masses.

In welcoming you into our ranks, we expect that you will further help to strengthen our Party by your active participation and collaboration in our daily work. We are sending you a package of literature, which we urge you to read. We urge you to attend your Party branch and group regularly; to read the Daily and Sunday Worker, and the Communist; to pay your dues each month; to build our Party by recruiting your fellow-worker, your union brother or sister, your neighbor, your friends, into our ranks.

Do not hesitate to bring to our attention any problems that confront you in becoming an active member of the Communist Party. Our Party seeks to make the spirit of true comradeship prevail in the relations of our Party members to one another, and in the relations of the basic Party organizations to our membership.

Remember that our Party belongs to the workers of America. The strength of our Party, its influence, its ability to give leadership to the masses, depends to a very large extent upon the work of yourself and all other members of the Party, who constitute the ties of the Party with the masses, whose activity enlightens the people, develops the class-consciousness of the workers, arouses them to action in the great battles for freedom and security, and holds out to them the great promise of the final victory of Socialism.

Comradely yours,

Wm Z. Foster

National Chairman

Robert Minor

Acting Secretary

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PUBLIC ENEMY No. 1

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST

By NANCY HYMAN
and LEONARD SPARKS

Issued by
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New York, 1935 *PRICE,*

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HOLDING OUR GAINS

THE PARTY & OUR NEW MEMBERS

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT
COMMUNIST PARTY OF MICHIGAN

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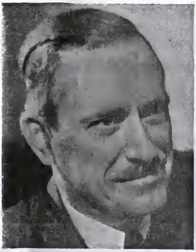

A Message from Earl Browder to You

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DEAR COMRADE:

Beginning February 12, the Party is launching a recruiting drive for 15,000 new members, the success of which will depend entirely upon the degree of *your* personal participation in the general effort. I am confident that after some thought and discussion you will agree that such a drive is both necessary and possible not only in the interest of our Party, but above all, in the interest of victory in the war. The organizational strengthening of our Party by thousands of new members will help us fulfill our responsibility in strengthening national unity, in forging ever stronger the alliance of the United Nations, speeding the opening of the Second Front, establishing a centralized war economy to double production in 1943, abolishing the poll tax and contributing towards labor unity and the organizing of the unorganized. The organizational strengthening of our Party will broaden the ideological influence of the Party to battle the Fifth Column attempt to "sabotage the mind" of the people and help eradicate the un-American theories of "racial superiority," of racial discrimination against the Negro people. Once you have thought out the feasibility and political significance of this drive, I am convinced that you will assume personal responsibility for its success.

The people are taking hold of this war and they are going to see that it is carried to a successful conclusion. But one of the guarantees of this is that the people be organized, and when it comes to this the world has learned to look upon the Communists as among the best organizers.

Bill. 97-4-18

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INVITATION
TO JOIN
The
COMMUNIST
PARTY
By
ROBERT MINOR
ASSISTANT GENERAL SECRETARY C.P.
1¢

61-7527 - 5115 X-JK2391.C5

*Convention of C.P.U.S.A, MAY, 1944 ~~TEXT OF~~ RESOLUTION *National Committee #92

"An unprecedented situation in the world and within our country has been created by the favorable course of the military action and by the international agreements of the United Nations coalition which assure victory in the war and the outlook for a long period of world peace and orderly post-war reconstruction.

"The defeat of the Axis, the smashing of the Hitler and Quisling regimes and their replacement by democracies in continental Europe, will fundamentally and favorably alter the prospect for the future, while the destruction of the imperialist regime of Japan will still further release the forces of national liberation and democracy of the peoples of Asia.

"The Moscow, Tehran and Cairo agreements give a program to banish the specter of civil wars and war between nations for several generations.

"Not only a prolonged world peace without precedent in history, but also a flourishing of economic relationships of cooperation and a development of economic well-being and social reforms, is the prospect open for the world.

"Within our country the extension of the United Nations coalition into the post-war period of reconstruction provides the basis for the successful reconversion of our industrial plant, enormously expanded in war production, to normal operation to the benefit of labor, the farmers and capital. For labor the program calls for full employment and orderly social progress through the instruments of collective bargaining and the reform and full use of the democratic political machinery under our Constitution.

The Moscow and Tehran agreements enable our government to carry out a policy of international accord in respect to world agricultureal prices and marketing and therefore an effective national responsi-

61-7559-2-5807 | X-JK 2391 .C5 #93

The Present Situation and Next Tasks

Resolution of the National Board, CPA, adopted on June 2, 1945

- *This resolution is submitted as a draft for discussion and action by the National Committee and the entire membership of the Communist Political Association.*

- *The vote on the resolution in the National Board was as follows:*

FOR: Morris Childs, Benjamin Davis, Jr., Eugene Dennis, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, James Ford, Wm. Z. Foster, Gilbert Green, Robert Minor, Robert Thompson, John Williamson.

AGAINST: Earl Browder.

ABSTAINED: Roy Hudson.

ABSENT: William Schneiderman.

CPA National Board Decides Upon Discussions on Resolution

● The National Board of the CPA, at its meeting of June 2, also adopted the following additional motions:

1. The National Committee shall be convened within two weeks.

2. tho discussion by the membership of the Association on the Resolution of the National Board shall start immediately in the Clubs and in other meetings of the Association to be determined by each State Committees. The discussion shall continue up to a date to be decided by the National Committee, CPA.

3. For the period of the discussion, arrangements shall be made with the Daily Worker to publish a semi-weekly discussion bulletin as a supplement to the paper. This bulletin shall be open to all members of the Association.

4. State organizations may publish special discussion bulletins if they so desire.

5. During the entire period of the discussion, the policy and practical mass work of the Association shall be governed by the Resolution of the National Board.

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Part I

1.

The military defeat of Nazi Germany is a great historic victory for world democracy, for all mankind. This epochal triumph was brought about by the concerted action of the Anglo-Soviet-American Coalition — by the decisive blows of the Red Army, by the American-British offensives, and by the heroic struggle of the resistance movements. This victory opens the way for the complete destruction of fascism in Europe and weakens the forces of reaction and fascism everywhere. It has already brought forth a new anti-fascist unity of the peoples in Europe marked by the formation in a number of countries of democratic governments representative of the will of the people. It has also created the prerequisites for bringing about the speedy defeat of Japanese imperialism. Thus great possibilities have been opened up for realizing a durable peace.

2.

However, a sharp and sustained struggle must still be conducted to secure the complete destruction of fascism in Europe and throughout the world and to guarantee that the possibilities which now exist for creating an enduring peace shall be realized. This is so because the economic and social roots of fascism in Europe have not yet been fully destroyed. This is so because the extremely powerful reactionary forces in the United States and England, which are centered in the trusts and cartels, are striving to reconstruct liberated Europe on a reactionary basis. Moreover, this is so because the most aggressive circles of American imperialism are endeavoring to secure for themselves political and economic domination in the world.

With the ending of the war against Nazi Germany, important groupings of American capital, which were opposed to German imperialist world domination, are joining hands with the most reactionary and pro-fascist circles of monopoly capital —with the pro-fascist duPont clique in the leadership of the N.A.M. Now that Nazi Germany has been crushed, these Big Business circles which heretofore supported, though inconsistently, the war against Hitler, in order to eliminate their German imperialist rival are today frightened by the democratic consequences of that victory.

Like their British counterparts, they are alarmed at the strengthened positions of world labor, at the democratic advances in Europe and at the upsurge of the national liberation movements in the colonial and dependent countries. Therefore they seek to halt the march of democracy; to curb the strength of labor and the people. They want to save the remnants of fascism in Germany and in the rest of Europe. They are trying to organize a new cordon sanitaire against the Soviet Union which bore the main brunt of the war against the Nazis, and which is the staunchest champion of national freedom, democracy and world peace.

This regrouping in the ranks of American capital, reacting to the defeat of Germany, has been reflected in many recent actions of the State Department. It is evidenced by the fact that the majority of the American delegation at San Francisco yielded on certain issues to the extreme reactionaries. In so doing they departed from Roosevelt's foreign policy of Big Three unity as worked out at Teheran and Yalta.

This regrouping in the ranks of capital explains why, on most basic questions, Stettinius and Connally were influenced to join hands with Vandenberg — the spokesman for Hoover and the most predatory sections of American finance capital. This explains the seating of fascist Argentina and the British-American reluctance to live up to the Yalta accord on Poland and Germany. This is the reason why the American delegation at San Francisco refused to join with the Soviet Union to pledge the right of national independence for mandated territories and colonies, and refused to give official recognition to the representatives of the World Labor Conference who spoke for sixty million organized workers.

This shift in the position of certain Big Business circles explains the reactionary intervention at Trieste and the threat of armed force against our Yugoslav Ally. This development also explains why Washington and London are pursuing the dangerous policy of preventing a strong, united and democratic China, and why they bolster up the reactionary, incompetent Chiang Kai-shek regime which is obstructing an all-out war against Japan. It accounts, too, for the new campaign of anti-Soviet slander and incitement calculated to undermine American-Soviet friendship and cooperation which was the cornerstone for victory over Hitler Germany and is the indispensable key to attain postwar peace and world security.

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CORRESPONDENCE WITH HOMER MULLIGAN

A series of articles on some of the theoretical questions of the day facing the Marxist movement, by Burt Sutta

****

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ON TROTSKYISM..page 40

****

WE ARE ANXIOUS TO HEAR FROM THOSE WHO ALSO DESIRE THE CREATION OF A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY BASED UPON THE TEACHINGS OF REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM, AND THE GENERAL OUTLOOK AS EXPRESSED IN THESE ARTICLES. SEND ALL COMMENT TO:

BURT SUTTA
BOX # 99
CROMPOND, N.Y.

WE WOULD APPRECIATE ALL FINANCIAL AID TO HELP US PUBLISH MORE MATERIAL AND WISH TO TAKE THIS OCCASION TO THANK ALL WHO AIDED IN THE PUBLICATION OF THESE ARTICLES.

*****

P. 26·48
M.O.)
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REPORT

by

GUS HALL

National Secretary, Communist Party

to

National Committee Conference

July 18, 1950

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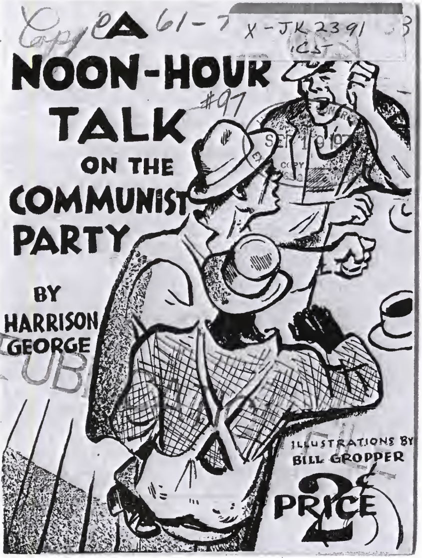

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Manifesto and Program

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ALL POWER TO THE WORKERS

Communist Party of America
Chicago, Ill.

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THE STUDY OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE ROLE OF THE PARTY IN PROMOTING NATIONAL UNITY

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By SAM DON

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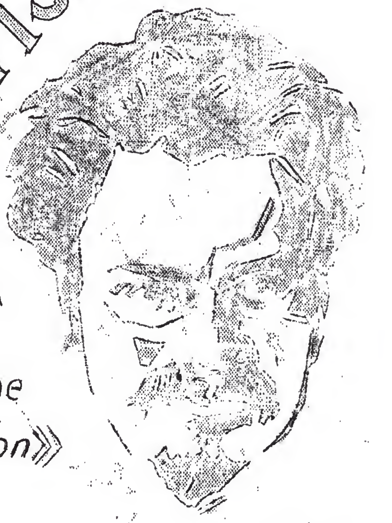
"WHAT IS TROTSKYISM"



«Principles of the Left Opposition»

by

VERA BUCH

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TO THE WORKERS, FARMERS, PEOPLE OF FLORIDA:

Nazi Hitler and Fascist Mussolini have begun a military adventure against the First Workers and Farmers Republic, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

How now will the imperialist groupings, appeaser and interventionist, justify their deliberately false lumping of Soviet Socialism with Fascism and Nazism, in order to pin the responsibility for the war on the Peace Policy of the Soviet Union instead of the Munich pact which all the betrayers of democracy supported.

Can it be that the imperialist rivals in the two camps: Roosevelt-Churchill on the one hand and Hitler-Mussolini-Hirohito-Petain on the other, finally reconciled their immediate differences behind the scenes and are exchanging the "wrong" war between the Axis powers and British-American imperialism, for the "right" war, a capitalist united front of aggression against the only real democracy, the workers and farmers state, the USSR?

Have the Munich policies of the unlamented Chamberlain finally prevailed through the operations of the Hess-Hitler-Hamilton intrigue?

Let us not be misled by Churchill's apparent concern for the Soviet peoples. Has he not said that the national way of life of these people who find assurance for the future under the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is indistinguishable from the Nazi regime?

If Churchill could be sincere in his hope of a Socialist defeat of the imperialist camp of Fascism, he would have to prove it first, by:

1) Lifting the ban on the London Daily Worker, the champion of the war-suffering peoples of the British empire and advocate of collaboration with the Soviet Union.
2) Recognizing the Eight Point Program of the English People's Convention, calling for:-
   a) Better living standards through social security.
   b) Adequate air-raid protection.
   c) Restoration and extension of trade union and democratic rights and liberties.
   d) Nationalization of banks, land, transport and basic industry; control of speculation, profiteering and corruption; organization of production in the interests of the people.
   e) Freedom for India; self-determination for the colonials.
   f) Friendship with the USSR.
   g) A representative peoples government.
   h) A People's Peace, based on self-determination.

The office of the President's Secretary of State has spoken out, taking the lead of Churchill in designating the fundamental law of the USSR

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Dear Comrade:

I welcome this opportunity to communicate with you personally. We have just gone through a severe crisis in our ranks. I feel that in the struggle against revisionism, in taking the first steps to correct our past errors, all Communists have been drawn closer together. The reconstitution of our Party has increased our determination to reestablish speedily our Party as a leading force in the struggles of labor and the people.

But this raises many problems on which I want to consult with you. Today, like in the darkest days of the war, every available force must exert itself to the utmost to guarantee victory against the enemies of our nation, the men of the trusts, the agents of expiring fascism who are conspiring to rob the people of their gains.

Great responsibility falls upon the labor movement. But even greater are the responsibilities placed upon the Communist Party. What we have to offer the American people is indispensable for victory. We have Marxist clarity. We have the ability to organize the masses. We have the capacity to galvanize masses into action. While all progressive forces can contribute to the national welfare, none can contribute the understanding, the consistency and the motive power that the Communist Party possesses.

But we cannot carry through our responsibilities as Communists in America without recognizing the role the Daily Worker and The Worker must play in the days ahead. These papers have begun to reflect our convention decisions, which are revitalizing their pages. And with the help of proposals coming from the membership during current discussions, further improvements will be made. But even today, our press is in the forefront fighting for jobs, security, democracy and peace.

The Daily Worker and The Worker have indispensable tasks to perform. They must help reeducate the Communist Party membership in Marxist principles. They must help clarify the complex issues facing the American people. They must help organize the masses, in the first place labor, into the most effective and fighting people's organizations. They must rally the people into action.

If ever the role of the Communist press as educator and organizer of the people was essential, this is the time. It is not inevitable that America shall emerge as the center of world reaction. American labor, in unity with other anti-fascists, has it within its power to keep our country on the road of progress. The American people have made big democratic advances in recent years. They have built and strengthened the people's organizations, especially the trade unions. They have experienced the power of political action on the part of labor and the people.

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Appeal to Socialists

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Your Coming Convention

SOCIALIST Comrades! Your coming convention is of concern to the entire labor movement, but especially to us in the Communist Party. We do not speak to you as outsiders but as comrades working for the unity of the working class against the menace of reaction, fascism and war. Through this bulletin we wish to participate in your pre-convention discussion, to give you our views on what we believe necessary for strengthening the working class and, through this, strengthening our two parties.

Socialist comrades! You have it in your power at your coming convention to make a decisive turn, and take the road of unity against fascism and war which threaten the international working class movement and the peoples of the world. We offer you this bulletin for the facts that it contains. It is our sincere hope that you will read these articles in the spirit of comradeship, that you will realize that they are meant to help you in the task of saving and building your party.

Follow the example of your brother parties in France and Spain, who, having taken the road of the united front, have grown in numbers and have performed great services to the international working class movement.

We in the Communist Party are doing all we can to speed up the process of united action by our two parties, looking forward to eventual organic unity. It is in this spirit of comradely assistance and criticism that we offer this bulletin to you for the purpose of strengthening the united front of the workers and the front of the people, and hastening the day when our two parties will merge into one mass political party of the American working class.

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AGAINST

THE "NEW DEAL" OF HUNGER, FASCISM AND IMPERIALIST WAR!

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FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY SOLUTION OF THE CRISIS!

(Manifesto of the Eighth National Convention of the Communist Party of U.S.A.)

TO ALL WORKERS OF THE U. S. A.:

We speak to you, in the name of 25,000 members of the Communist Party who elected the delegates of this Eighth National Convention; in the name of several hundred thousand workers who elected fraternal delegates from trade unions, unemployment councils, workers' clubs, fraternal societies; in the name of the miners, steel workers, metal workers, auto workers, textile workers, marine workers, railroad workers, whose delegates constitute a majority of this convention.

To you, the working class and toiling farmers of the United States, this Convention of workers addresses itself, to speak a few plain words about the crisis, and about the possibility of finding a way out.

The crisis of the capitalist system is becoming more and more a catastrophe for the workers and toiling masses. Growing millions of the exploited population are faced with increased difficulties in finding the barest means of livelihood. Unemployment relief is being drastically cut and in many cases abolished altogether. Real wages are being reduced further every month, and labor is being speeded up to an inhuman degree.

The vast majority of the poor farmers are slowly but surely being squeezed off the land and thrown on the "free" labor market to compete with the workers. The oppressed Negro people are loaded down with the heaviest economic burdens, especially of unemployment, denied even the crumbs of relief given to the starving white masses, and further subjected to bestial lynch law and Jim-Crowism. Women workers and housewives are especially sufferers from the crisis, and from the fascist movements to drive them out of industry. Millions of young workers are thrown upon the streets by the closing of schools and simultaneously are denied any chance to earn their living in the industries.

What the "New Deal" Has Given the Workers

The suffering masses have been told to look to Washington for their salvation. Mr. Roosevelt and his New Deal have been decked out with the rainbow promises of returning prosperity. But the bitter truth is rapidly being learned that Roosevelt and his New Deal represent the Wall Street bankers and big corporations—finance capital—just the same as Hoover before him, but carrying out even fiercer attacks against the living standards of the masses of the people. Under Roosevelt and the "New Deal" policies, the Public Treasury has been turned into a huge trough where the big capitalists eat their fill. Over ten billion dollars has been handed out to the banks and corporations, billions squeezed out of the workers and farmers by inflation and by all sorts of new taxes upon the masses. Under the Roosevelt regime, the main burden of taxation has been shifted away from the big capitalists onto the impoverished masses.

The N.R.A. and the industrial codes have served further to enrich the capitalists by establishing fixed monopoly prices, speeding up trustification, and squeezing out the smaller capitalists and independent producers.

The labor provisions of the N.R.A., which were hailed by the A. F. of L. and Socialist leaders as "a new charter for labor," have turned out in reality to be new chains for labor. The fixing of the so-called minimum wage, at below starvation levels, has turned out in reality to be a big effort to drive the maximum wage down to this point. The so-called guarantee of the right to organize and collective bargaining has turned out in reality to be the establishment of the company unions. The last remaining rights of the workers they now propose to take away by establishing compulsory arbitration under the Wagner Bill, camouflaged as an attempt to guarantee workers' rights. Roosevelt has given official governmental status to the company unions, in the infamous "settlement" in the auto industry. This new step toward fascism is announced as a "new course" to apply to all industries.

All these domestic policies are openly recognized as identical in their content with the measures of professed fascist governments. This rapid movement toward Fascism in the United States goes hand in hand with the sharpening of international antagonisms and the most gigantic preparations for war ever before witnessed in a prewar period. More than a billion dollars has been appropriated for war purposes during this year.

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STATEMENT ON THE PRESENT ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE U. S. AND THE EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL TASKS OF THE WORKERS COMMUNIST PARTY.

Submitted by Foster, Bittelman, Johnstone, Krumbien, Aronberg.

I. THE WORLD SITUATION

1. The most striking and significant characteristic of the present world situation is on the one hand the ever sharpening imperialist rivalries between the capitalist powers for the possesion and exploitation of markets and sources of raw material, and on the otherhand the crystallization of an imperialist combination (led by England and participated in by America, Japan, France, and Italy) for war against China and for an attack upon the Soviet Union. The mortal fear of the success of the Chinese revolution and the steady strengthening of the socialist economy and general conditions of the Soviet Union, together with the powerful revolutionary effect of these two factors upon the general world situation, are the tendencies working towards a combination of the imperialist forces despite the basic mutual rivalries between them which will inevitably produce imperialist wars and the eventual collapse of world capitalism.

2. British imperialism torn with disintegrating factors is already waging war against the Chinese revolution, in which it sees a tremendous menace to its empire. The campaign against the Chinese revolution is being shared in by America and other imperialist powers. Preparations are made by all big capitalist powers for a large scale war against China as is seen from the tremendous concentration of naval and military forces on Chinese territory. The bombardment of Nanking and other cities, the provocative demands upon the Nationalist government by the five big imperialist powers, anti-Chinese war propaganda, ect., Preparations of a war-like nature are also going on in the imperialist camp against the Soviet Union. These warlike activities are again opening up the basic contradictions and rivalries of world imperialism, among them the contest for the domination of the Pacific, and threaten to precipate the world into a new imperialist war.

3. The attack of Chiang Kai-Shek upon the Hankow government, his disarming and shooting of Chinese workers and persecution of the trade unions, are acts of treason to the Chinese liberation movement, marking the transition of Chaing-Kai-Shek and the big Chinese bouregeosie whom he represents, to the camp of the foreign imperialists,. The Chinese Nationalist revolution is passing into a higher phase of struggle, where the movement is carried on and dominated by the workers, peasants and the petty bourgeosie led by the working class. This revolutionary bloc, represented by the Kuomintang in which the Chinese Communist Party is playing a leading role, is the only force in China which will continue the liberation struggle to the end and assure the victory and full liberation of the Chinese peopl

4. American imperialism, more so than the English, has been orientating itself on splitting the ranks of the revolution and securing an alliance with the big Chinese bourgeosie for the joint exploitation of the Chinese masses. This and other angles of American imperialist policy in China which differentiate it from the more openly aggressive, military and uncompromising anti-Chinese imperialist policies of Great Britain in all phases and classes of the Chinese revolution, is explained by the fact that American imperialism is a newcomer in the ... (as compared with Great Britain), less entrenched in the actu

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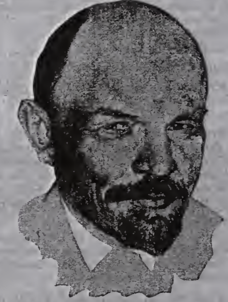

"Without an iron Party steeled in struggle, without a Party which enjoys the confidence of everything honest in a given class, without a Party which understands to follow the sentiment of the masses and shape this sentiment, it is impossible to carry on struggle."
—LENIN.

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SURVIVAL ISSUE

FOLK - IDEA - NATION

THE UNITED STATES TODAY

150,000,000	Whitefolk
19,000,000	Negroes
8,000,000	Jews
3,000,000	Unclassified non-Whites
180,000,000	

If our buildings, our highways, and our railroads should be wrecked, we could rebuild them. If our cities should be destroyed, out of the very ruins we could erect newer and greater ones. Even if our armed might should be crushed, we could rear sons who would redeem our power. But if the blood of our Whitefolk should become corrupted and mingled with the blood of non-Whites, then the present greatness of our Nation would be gone forever. The maintenance of our American civilization would be as impossible for a non-White America as would the redemption and restoration of the Whiteman's blood which has been mixed with that of the non-White.

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4. Excerpts from Glotzer's Letter to the International Secretariat
5. Excerpts from Muste's article, "How Cannon-Shachtman 'Builds' The Party"
6. Excerpts from the Crux Letters to the Polish Bolshevik-Leninists
7. Summary

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